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HISTORIC PRESERVATION IN TAIWAN
THE RESTORATION OF TAINAN DA TIANHOU GONG

Chen-shan Ellen Wang

A THESIS

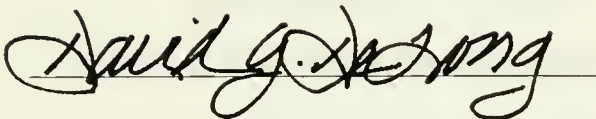
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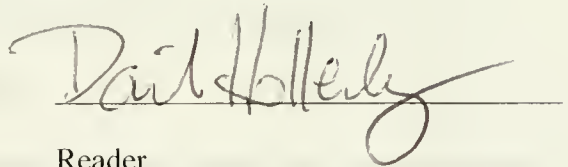
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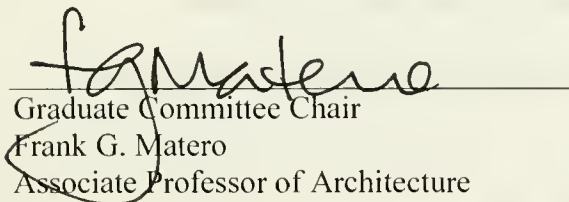
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Acknowledgements

I brought my questions and passion for historic preservation to Philadelphia in 1997, and it has been six years. During these years, I have witnessed great changes of the United States and the world. Technology and information update far beyond my imagination while more and more monuments are destroyed. However, I believe there is something that never changes. One day, people will re-estimate the value of history. And I wish that I will be there contributing as much as I can.

Upon the completion of this thesis, there are some people I would like to show my gratitude. I am particularly indebted to Professor David G. De Long, who not only advised this thesis but also has been extremely patient and helping. I am very grateful to be able to learn from him. I also like to acknowledge the advice of Professor David Hollenberg, who has generously read and commented on this thesis. For assistance with the details of the thesis, I would like to thank Mr. Chao Kung-tu and some of my friends for providing me documents and photos.

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Finally I would like to thank my families' endless support and encouragement, especially my in-laws, Mr. Kuan-cheng Chiou and Mrs. Lih-Shu Tseng.

I would like to dedicate this thesis to two of my beloved- my husband Yun-shang Chiou and our lovely daughter Hsin-he Amélie Chiou.

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Introduction

I was raised in one of the row houses¹ in Mengjia (Mong-ga in Taiwanese), one of the earliest developing districts in Taipei. In my memory, that was the most interesting space I've ever experienced. The wooden house had two stories, and two sections, which had a small courtyard in between. The partitioning was relatively rough; especially the first floor of the front section basically had only one partition separating the furniture shop and the private area. Behind the door was a furniture workshop, where a back door directly connected to a tiny street. As the capital city of Taiwan, Taipei has developed rapidly over the last fifty years. The neighborhood where I grew up also witnessed the changes, including being replaced by many high-rise buildings in order to follow the step of modernism. As a result, our house was renewed. It has been a deep sorrow of mine. I wondered if there is a solution for the dilemma of development and preservation. When I studied at the Graduate Institute of Building and Planning at National Taiwan University, I had the opportunity to participate in some projects, which are related to this field. However, historic preservation was considered a political issue rather than a practical issue. After graduation, I got involved in the restoration of the Da Tianhou Gong at Tainan City. Through that experience, I found some issues of the practice of preservation in Taiwan, including political and technical aspects. I brought those questions to University of Pennsylvania, and hoped to find an answer.

¹ Huang Lan-hsiang. "Huigu Taiwan jianzhu yu dushi shi yanjiu de jige yiti (review some issues of the studies of architectural and urban history of Taiwan)" in *Taiwan shi yanjiu yibainian: huigu yu yanjiu*.

The research is divided into four chapters: the first chapter is a brief review of the evolution of historic preservation in Taiwan after the Japanese occupation period (1894-1945). The next chapter will talk about the Mazu cult and temples of Mazu in Taiwan. The following chapter will describe in detail the restoration project of the Da Tianhou Gong at Tainan. And in the end, I would like to evaluate the restoration of the Da Tianhou Gong.

Although the earliest written record about Taiwan was in the fourth century, it was not until the seventeenth century that intensive development was undertaken by the Chinese immigrants.² In terms of architecture, the timber-structured Chinese buildings were repaired constantly, and renewed frequently. As a modern phenomenon, the first chapter will focus on the present practice of historic preservation in Taiwan. The aim of this chapter is to point out the issues of preservation, and how they have been done by the government agents and people who are involved. To make the issues discussed in this thesis easier to follow, the relevant Laws and policeis of historic preservation will be highlighted in Appendix 1.

1997:190. This kind of row house is called “*dian wu*”, literally shop house. The first floor and front section were used as shops while the rest space was used storage, workshop and residence.

² Christine Vertente, Hsu Hsueh-chi, and Wu Mi-cha. *The Authentic Story of Taiwan: An Illustrated History, Based on Ancient Maps, Manuscripts and Prints*. Taipei: SMC Publisher Inc., 1991: 18. According to some Chinese authors the earliest written records about Taiwan could date back to the period of the Three Kingdoms (about 300 AD). But Taiwan did not really belong to the traditional Chinese territory before the Qing dynasty, so official historical sources in that respect can scarcely be found.

The Portuguese were the first Europeans to arrive in the Orient. They sailed past the island several times and called it *Ilha Formosa*- Beautiful Island. They did not choose this predicate arbitrarily, because when they first caught a glimpse of the northeastern side of the island, they saw blue mountain peaks and vivid green verdures, which lie like terraced carpets on the hill-slopes.

Because the study is on one of the Mazu temples in Taiwan, the second chapter will discuss the importance of Mazu in the Taiwanese society. I will also discuss the significance of the Da Tianhou Gong, including its history and architectural features among all the Mazu temples. To continue with the restoration of the Da Tianhou Gong in the third chapter, I will describe the restoration processes based on a chronological order. Meanwhile, I will address the conflicts between the people who were involved. Having the opportunity to participate in the restoration, I had the privilege to have first hand information, and was able to hear from both the architect and the construction company.

In the last chapter, I wish to evaluate this project by emphasizing the differences from the earlier situation of historic preservation in Taiwan, and comparing that with foreign theories and modern practices. The aim of the thesis is not to criticize any particular person or institute, but to use the Da Tianhou Gong to exemplify the current practice of historic preservation in Taiwan. Through my personal experience and what I learned from foreign practices, I hope to be able to point out the crux of the matter, and to have recommendations for other restoration projects.

Notes on Transliteration of Chinese

The phonetic alphabet for Chinese characters will use two systems: for the names of authors from Taiwan, I will use “Guoyeu Romatzyh”, which is a simplified Wade-

Giles system, and has been used in Taiwan since the twentieth century; for the rest, including historic names, the authors from China, or book titles will be converted into *pinyin* system, which is officially used in China. In addition, Chinese names will remain the order of surname, and then first name. There is no comma between surname and first name.

Chapter 1: History of Preservation in Taiwan

Historic preservation, as I shall discuss in the chapter, is not only an imported idea but also strongly corresponds with politics in modern Taiwan. In this chapter, I shall at first review the history of historic preservation in modern Taiwan in order to understand under what kind of circumstances the restoration project of the Da Tianhou Gong has taken place.

1.1 Return to Chinese Government

After fifty years of Japanese occupation, Taiwan was back in China's embrace in 1945.¹ During the Japanese Occupation, the Japanese suppressed Chinese traditions to control the Taiwanese. With regard to architecture, the Japanese tore down the city walls and traditional houses; instead, they built many western style buildings, particularly government and public buildings, which they learned from the West in the Meiji period.² In the fifty years of the occupation, the Japanese built many institutional buildings,³ including the Governor-General Office (now the Presidential Office) (Fig. 1.1).⁴

¹ At that time, it was still called "Republic of China". For the introduction of the history of Taiwan, see Vertente, Christine, and so on. *The Authentic Story of Taiwan: An Illustrated History, Based on Ancient Maps, Manuscripts and Prints*. Taipei: SMC, 1991: 149-153. To compete interests on the Korean peninsula, China and Japan plunged into full-scale war in 1894. In the postwar settlement, a vanquished China ceded Taiwan to Japan as a token of its defeat. The Japanese occupation lasted for fifty years until the Japanese Emperor's August 15 unconditional surrender.

² Jason C. Kuo. *Art and Cultural Policies in Postwar Taiwan*. Seattle: University of Washington Press, 2000: 16-17. Since the English architect Josiah Conder (1852-1920) started teaching in the Department of Architecture at the new University of Technology in Tokyo, western-style architecture was regarded as a symbol of advanced technology, progress and modernity. The western-style represented the authority and overwhelming power of Japan in the Pacific. As Japan colonized Taiwan, it naturally sought to impress the colonial people with Western-style architecture, particularly government and public buildings.

³ Hsieh Sen-chan. *Taiwan Huixiang* (the memoir of Taiwan). Taipei: Creation Culture, 1994: 12. He thinks that in the fifty years of Japanese colonial period Taiwan faced the most complicated changes. The Japanese changed Taiwan in many ways including government system and cityscapes. They demolished the structures from the Qing Dynasty, and built new traffic system such as the three-lane roads. Different from the wood



a.



b.



c.



d.



Fig. 1.1 Some of the Euro-Japanese institutional structures built by the Japanese: a. Office of the Government of Formosa, 1919 (Chuang Chan-peng, 1992: 81); b. the Official Residence of Formosa Governor General, 1901 (Chao Lu-ling, 1999: 153); c. Taiwan Hospital, 1924 (Lee Chien-lang, 1998b: 31); d. Imperial University, now National Taiwan University, 1928 (Lee Chien-lang, 1998a: 198); e. Bank of Taiwan, 1938 (Lee Chien-lang, 1998a: 82)

tradition, they also started applying R.C. structure on Taiwanese houses. Those western buildings including government halls, bank offices, train stations, libraries and museums, schools, seaports, post offices, and so on.

⁴ Ibid. p.42. In his book, Hsieh collects many institutional and religious buildings built by the Japanese. As the western style for the institution architecture, the Japanese built several *shinsha* (Shinto shrines) followed their traditions in Taiwan.

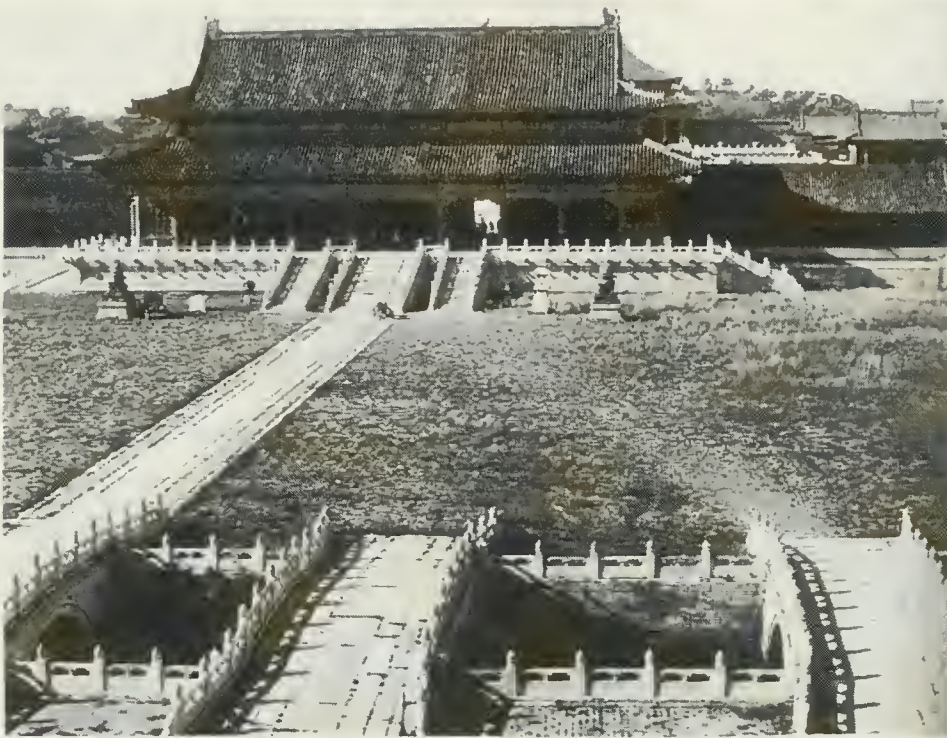
The Japanese introduced a Euro-Japanese architectural style into this island to show their power and authority⁵. In 1949, Chiang Kai-shek and the Kuo-min-tang Party (KMT) retreated to Taiwan after being defeated by the Communists. To consolidate their authority, Chiang and his government stressed Chinese traditions and values.⁶ This value applied to architecture was manifested in the use of a palatial style modeled after the Forbidden City at Beijing,⁷ in which grandeur and elaboration are emphasized. In architectural aspect, the Forbidden City palatial style characterized by a large glazed-tile roof (Fig. 1.2) was the standard for institutions or major buildings (Fig. 1.3). As I shall discuss later in this chapter, vernacular architecture was ignored and disrespected. In the 1950s, there was less new construction due to the shortage of daily necessities. Moreover, many traditional houses and temples, including Tainan Da Tianhou Gong, became shelters for the mainlanders.⁸

⁵ Huang Lan-hsiang, "Huigu Taiwan jianzhu yu dushi shi yanjiu de jige yiti (Review some issues of studies of history of architecture and city planning of Taiwan)", in Huang Fu-san and so on. *Taiwan shi yanjiu yibainian: huigu yu yanjiu*. Taipei: The Preparatory office of the institute of Taiwan history, Academic Sinica, 1997: 185. Western style had long been introduced to Taiwan. The architecture and city planning of Taiwan experienced the Dutch colonial in the seventeenth century; however, the most influential factor was the construction during the Japanese occupation period.

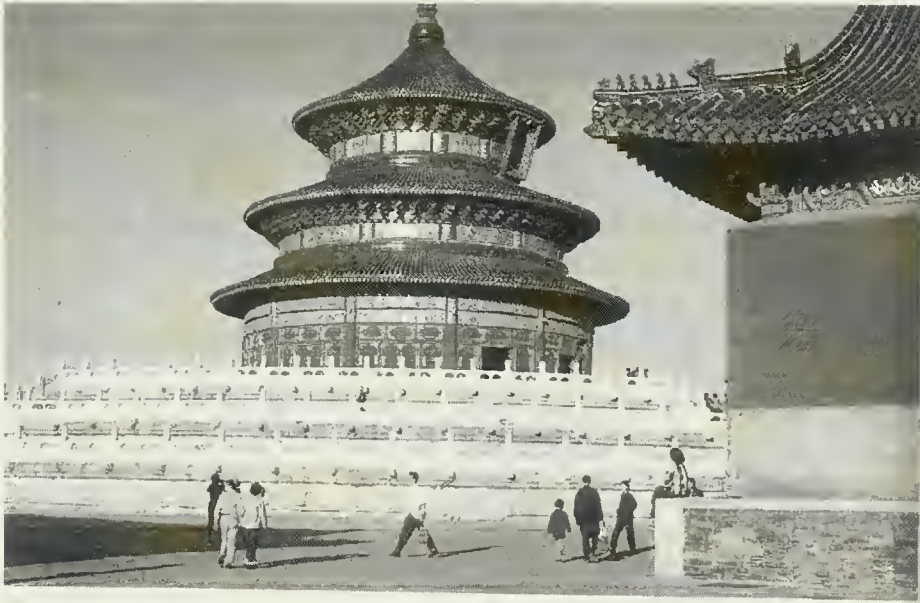
⁶ Chen Chi-lu. *Minzu yu wenhua*. Taipei: Liming Wenhua chubanshe, 1982: 69-75. In contrast to the Cultural Revolution in Mainland China, Chiang Kai-shek and his government proposed "plan of revival of Chinese culture" in 1966. Meanwhile, an important policy to enhance the development led by Chiang Ching-kuo, the son and successor of Chiang Kai-shek, focused on twelve items of constructions, including culture and education.

⁷ Wang Ta-hung, "Can Chinese Architecture Survive". *Beiyechuan (The Blinds) Vol. 4 (1)*. Tainan: Architect Association of National Cheng-Kung University, 1972. The "Palatial Style" is to use the Forbidden City of Beijing, which was the imperial city of the Ming and the Qing dynasties, as the model, and to have the similar details such as the elaborated brackets, glazed tiles, engraved balustrades, etc. This style accompanied with the call of "Chinese culture revival" dominated the architectural value until modernization flourished in the 1970s.

⁸ Mainlanders are referred to as the group of people, which immigrated to Taiwan led by Chiang Kai-shek and the troupes after defeated by Communists in 1949. Chuang Rong-fang. *Guji guanli yu weihu*. Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1983: 41-43. Zhuang listed some of the historic buildings, which were occupied and damaged.



a.

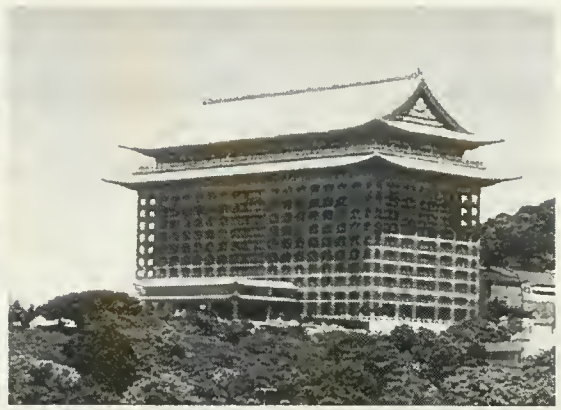


b.

Fig. 1.2 Palace complex of the Forbidden City in Beijing started in 1406: a. Taihe dian (Hall of Supreme Harmony) and b. Qianian dian (Hall of Annual Prayers) (Michael Sullivan, 1999: 248, 250)



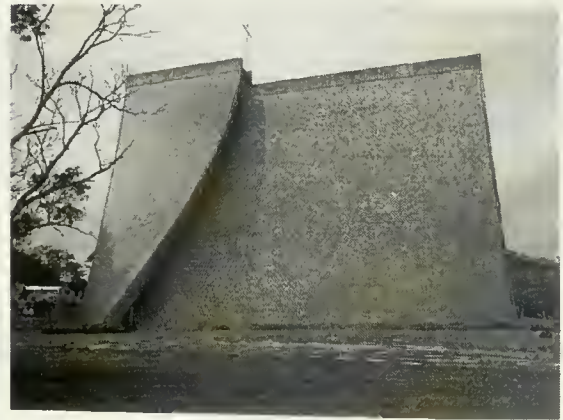
a.



b.



c.



d.

Fig. 1.3 The new buildings modeled after the Forbidden City: a. National History Museum, 1956 (Chao Lu-ling, 1999: 124.5) b. the Grand Hotel, 1952 (Chao Lu-ling, 1999: 166); c. National Theater, 1987 (Lee Chien-lang, 1998b: 104); d. Church of Tunghai University, 1963 (Lee Chien-lang, 1998b: 97)

The debate of the restoration of Zhen Chengong shrine at Tainan

In the first decade after the retreat of the Kuo-Ming Tang Party, many historic structures were converted into the Forbidden City palatial style by enlarging the roof and

using glazed tiles (Fig. 1.4).⁹ Moreover, new materials and techniques were being introduced from the West. Chinese architectural traditions also faced the challenges of modernization.¹⁰ The debate on the restoration of Zheng Chenggong¹¹ shrine in Tainan in fact is the best case to explain the situation.

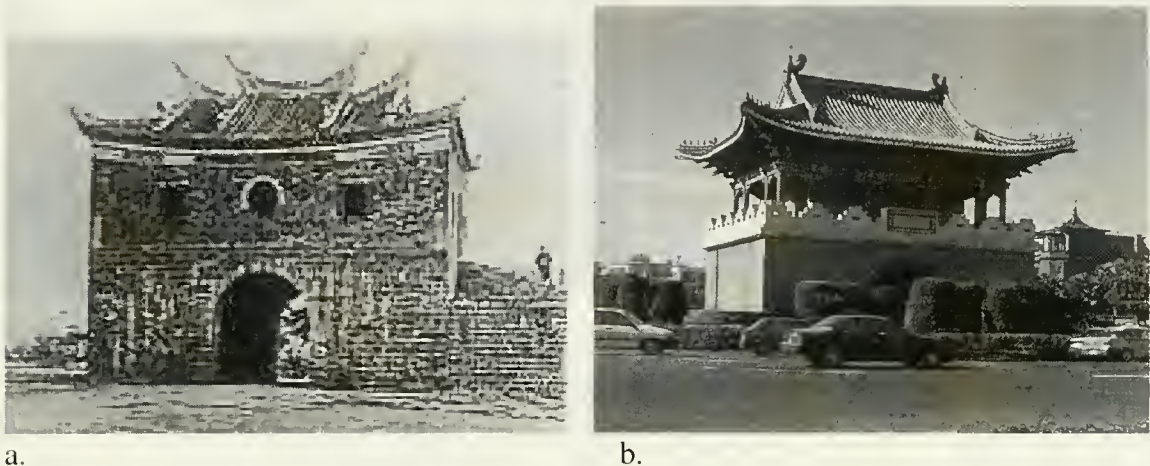


Fig. 1.4 The eastern gate of Taipei City, 1884: a. the original; b. after 1966's restoration showing the conversion to the Forbidden City style (Chuang Chan-peng, 1992: 104)

⁹ Chuang Chan-peng. *Taipei gucheng zhi li*. Taipei: Yuanliu chubanshe, 1992: 40-41. There were five gates of Taipei City built by the Qing officials in 1884. Mainly for protection purpose, these fortress gates were simple but solid. During the Japanese occupation, the West gate was first torn down. After the Kuo-Ming Tang Party governed Taiwan, except the North Gate, the South gate, small South gate, and the East gate were all converted into Forbidden City palatial style.

¹⁰ Lee Chien-lang. *Taiwan jianzhu bainian*. Taipei: Beiwu, 1998: 4-5. For instance, the National Science Museum at Taipei. The architect Lu Junyu adopted the roof pattern of Qiniandian (hall of Heaven) of Forbidden City, but he applied the Formalism on the interior and the floor plan. The church of Tung-hai University, designed by I.M. Pei and two other Taiwanese architects, mixes the Chinese palace, vernacular architecture, and western architecture.

¹¹ Vertente, Christine, and so on. *The Authentic Story of Taiwan: An Illustrated History, Based on Ancient Maps, Manuscripts and Prints*. 1991: 83-102. Zhen Chengong was a general in Ming dynasty, and was against the Manchurians along southeast coast. He was born in 1624 in Hirado near Nagasaki of Japan. His father Zheng Zhilong was at first a maritime trade merchant along the southeast coast of China Sea. He and his brothers organized a stable military structure on Fujian coast, and soon he received nobility from the Ming emperor. Zheng Chenggong was very persistent in his resistance against the Manchurians, who tried to conquer China. He assembled an armada by unifying all Ming royalists to fight the Qing in the Yangtze area, but the Ming side proved not all united; consequently, he retreated to Taiwan in 1666. On the other hand, he defeated the VOC (Verenigde Oostindische Compagnie in Dutch or Dutch East India Company), who had occupied Taiwan since 1622. Therefore, he is credited for taking over Taiwan from the westerners. To compensate people in the southeast coast, he was conferred Marquis Yanping by the Qing rulers. He has been considered as a national hero and is worshipped as a god in Taiwan and China.

In 1966, the Tainan Municipal Government planned to restore the Zheng Chenggong shrine¹² (Fig. 1.5), and to build a memorial hall next to it.

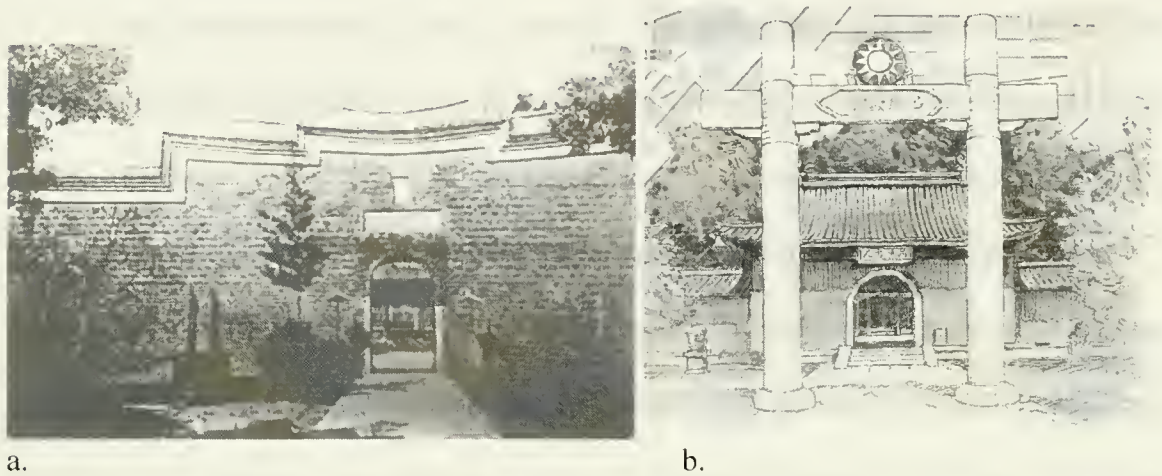


Fig. 1.5 Zheng Chenggong Shrine: a. before restoration (Lee Chien-lang, 1980: 218); b. after restoration (map of *Dadi Magazine*, 1999 June)

They asked He-chen Tsu, an experienced architect and a professor at the Department of Architecture at National Cheng-Kung University, to handle this project. In his proposal,¹³ he proposed a modern structure for the memorial hall since it is built for the modern citizens. He also pointed out that a ‘shrine’ functions as a traditional ceremony; therefore, it would be the most appropriate to apply the traditional Chinese style. Hechen then said, “...the original scale of the shrine was larger. Since the Japanese had demolished one wing, its façade became meaningless. As for restoration, we definitely have to have both wings. However, the structure of the main hall is also too damaged to

¹² Lee Chien-lang. *Taiwan jianzhu shi*, 1980: 218-219. The Zheng Chenggong shrine was firstly built before 1745, and rebuilt in 1875. During the Japanese occupation, it was converted into Japanese Shinto shrine by adding a Torii (Shinto gate) in the front.

¹³ Yeh Nei-chi. *The Formation of the Discourses of Historic Preservation: The Historic Preservation Movement in Taiwan After Recovery*. Master Thesis of National Taiwan University, 1989: 35-37.

*restore. Instead of restoring, this work should be replaced by rebuilding a regular Qing-dynasty palatial structure.”*¹⁴

His decision resulted in the Fujian-style shrine becoming extinct in Taiwan.¹⁵ In general, Chinese architecture can be divided into two styles: northern and southern.¹⁶ The northern style associated with the government was influenced by the tastes of the foreign rulers, while the features of the southern style can be traced back to the Tang dynasty.¹⁷ Located on the southeastern coast of China, Fujian Province has a long and excellent tradition of carpentry due to political reasons and access to materials of good quality.¹⁸ At that time, Lu Yu-chun, an architect involved in several restoration projects in China, argued, “*the first consideration of preservation is the connection with historic value. The grandness or beauty is not one of the most important factors. That the shrine could be built under the Qing rulership proved the emotional history. How can it be ignored! How can it not be preserved!*”¹⁹ Moreover, he urged that vernacular architecture be respected.

The chief architect He-chen defended his own proposal by saying “*the original architecture of the shrine, though hard to believe, but its poor quality and bad techniques amazed me. ...It looks like the hut of an earth god on the street... In addition, it has only a*

¹⁴ He-chen Tsu. “The Tainan Zheng Chenggong Shrine and Others”. *Architecture Biweekly* 20, 1966: 16-20. Translated by the author.

¹⁵ Lee Chien-lang. *Taiwan jianzhu shi*, Taipei: Beiwu, 1980: 218-9. This shrine was the only example of the “Fuzhou style”. The identical feature is its ladder-shaped gable with swallow-tail on top of it.

¹⁶ Knapp, Ronald G. *China's Traditional Rural Architecture*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 1986: 1-3.

¹⁷ Liang Sicheng and Wilma Fairbank. *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*, Boston: M.I.T. Press, 1984: 1-21. The architecture in the Northern China was mixed with the Qidans, Manchurians and other groups. The Chinese believe their ancestors are the people of the Han and the Tang dynasties.

¹⁸ Lin, Huicheng. *Chuantong jianzhu shouce*. Taipei: Yishujia chubanshe, 1990: 2-5. Its fir trees and stone are very well known.

¹⁹ Lu Yu-chun. “The Essential Knowledge of Restoring the Historic Objects and Relics”. *The Collection of the Essays of Professor Lu Yu-chun*, 1988: 98-101. Translated by the author.

ninety-year history. If this shrine is considered a historic heritage, then there will be thousands of buildings qualified. ...Therefore, the best solution is to tear it down, and to build a new building which is comparable to Marquis Zheng's achievement."²⁰ Besides, the Saccam fortress (*chikan lou*) project at Tainan (Fig. 1.6), He-chen replaced some wooden components by applying reinforced concrete, which imitated the original wooden appearance. These cases illustrate how vernacular architecture was ignored, even despised, at that time. Nevertheless, concrete soon became a favorite material, and was also used to restore other traditional wooden or brick buildings.



Fig. 1.6 Saccam fortress (*Chikan lou*): a. photo from 1930 (Lee Chien-lang, 1980: 73), b. current photo (Wang Rong-wen, 1994: 14)

²⁰ He-chen Tsu. "The Tainan Zheng Chenggong Shrine and Others". *Architecture Biweekly* 20, 1966: 16-20. Translated by the author.

1.2 The Developing Period: Modernization

Before being one of the “four tigers of Asia”,²¹ Taiwan experienced the dilemma between traditions and modernism.²² The aid of the United States played an important role in Taiwan after it was freed from the Japanese occupation. Consequently, the United States became the model for many aspects of life in Taiwan, including city planning.²³ As new construction materials and techniques were introduced, many four to six-story concrete buildings were erected all over Taiwan; soon after, high-rise apartment and office buildings appeared and created new cityscapes (Fig. 1.7). Unfortunately, the road-widening projects caused severe damage and impact, such as rebuilding and relocating some temples and historic houses.²⁴ The conflict between real estate value and private property has become one of the toughest issues of preservation in Taiwan.

²¹ It is the nickname for the four economically developing places since 1980's in Asia besides Japan- South Korea, Singapore, Hong Kong and Taiwan. Some people prefer to call them “four small dragons of Asia” because dragon is considered superior in East Asia.

²² Han Pao-te. “The obstruction and appearance of traditions”, *Jiazhu shehui yu wenhua*. Taipei: Jingyuxiang chubanshe, 1988: 57-66. Those architects who are assessed by the traditions have to face the reality of the challenges of traditions.

²³ Chen Chi-lu. *Minzu yu wenhua*, 1982: 75. It has been a big concern of Chinese literati since the West was over powered China. The idea of “Chinese culture as the body, the western knowledge as the application” has considered the best solution. Chen Kongli (ed.). *Taiwan lishi gangyao*. 1996: 488-9. Some intellectuals published in *Wenxing* journal, and insisted of “following the West”. Their advocacy of democracy and modernism also attracted much attentions from students. “Learning from the United Sates” was the slogan, which could be heard in the public.

²⁴ Chuang Fang-jong. *Guji guanli yu weihe* (The management and maintenance of historic remains). Taipei: Taiwan xuesheng shuju, 1983: 52-54. There are many examples; for instance, the wall of Chenghuang (city god) of Tainan fell due to a tractor excavator during a road construction. The boathouse of English Consulate in Tamsui of Taipei County was also demolished by nearly one third. The city gates of Taipei and Hsin-chu were demolished due to the new city planning.



Fig. 1.7 A mansion of Lin family, built in the nineteenth century, at Madou: showing the right half was rebuilt into apartment building in 1970's (Chuang Fang-jong, 1983: 58)

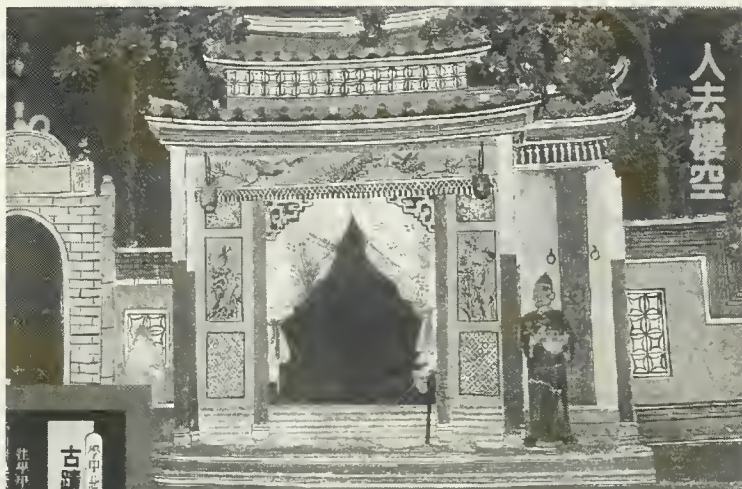
Tourism

While modernism dominated public value, tourism drew public attention to historic buildings. Citizens started visiting these historical sites.²⁵ Unfortunately, this attention did not guarantee better conditions for preservation; instead, many buildings suffered different degrees of damage. After receiving the media's attention, those objects and architectural decorations were often stolen (Fig. 1.8).²⁶ Furthermore, tourists sometimes drew graffiti

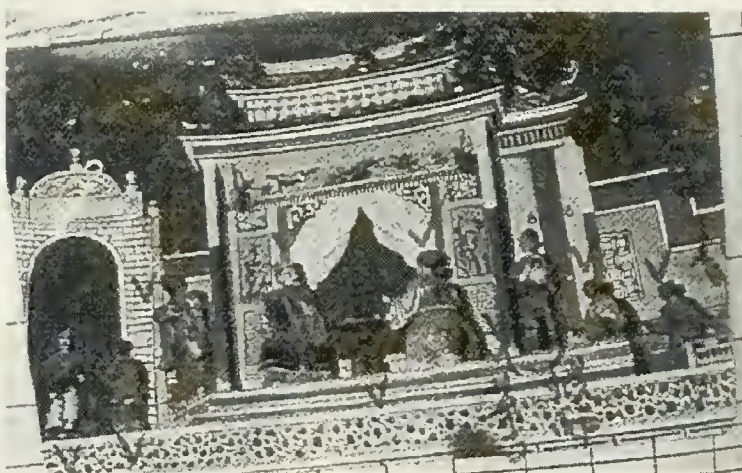
²⁵ Hsia Chu-joe. *The Planning Report of the Hot Spring in the Northern Taiwan: The Analysis and Proposal of the Hot Spring Tour in Taiwan*. Taipei: The Workshop of City Planning of the Graduate School of Civic Engineering at National Taiwan University, 1988.

²⁶ Huang Yeung-sung. "Guji de da haojie (the great disaster of historic relics)" *Echo*, 1981 (11): 54-57. Ceramic figurines were often applied on the temple decorations. Ye Wang was one of the most well known ceramic-figurine masters in the southeast China and Taiwan during the late Qing period. His works were once sent to the World Fair in France in 1900. His works in Ciji temple at Xuejia, and those of Zhenxing temple at Jialijia of Jiaying County were stolen in 1980. Chuang Fang-jong. *Guji guanli yu weihu*. 1983: 56. There is a group who stole these cultural heritages, and sold them abroad. Their operation is to let their clients to select

and sketches on the walls (Fig. 1.9). Some movie directors sensed the value of historic buildings, and used them for movie backgrounds. However, the attention of the public ultimately became a “disaster” (Fig. 1.10).²⁷



a.



b.

Fig. 1.8 a. Ceramic figurines in Ciji temple at Xuejia; b: those of Zhenxing temple at Jialijia of Jiaying County were stolen in 1980. (Huang Yeung-sung, 1981: 54,55)

items from a colored catalogue of the sculptures and treasures of many temples, and they would try to steal whatever their clients want.

²⁷ Ibid. 35-36. Yixing hang, one of the historic row houses in Lugang, suffered destruction of roof tiles by the movie workers. The Wenchang Ci (shrine of god of literature) at Lugang, its wall was painted with apsaras (heavenly beings) of Dunhuang Buddhist Caves, and another example is the walls of an old house were pasted with brown papers.

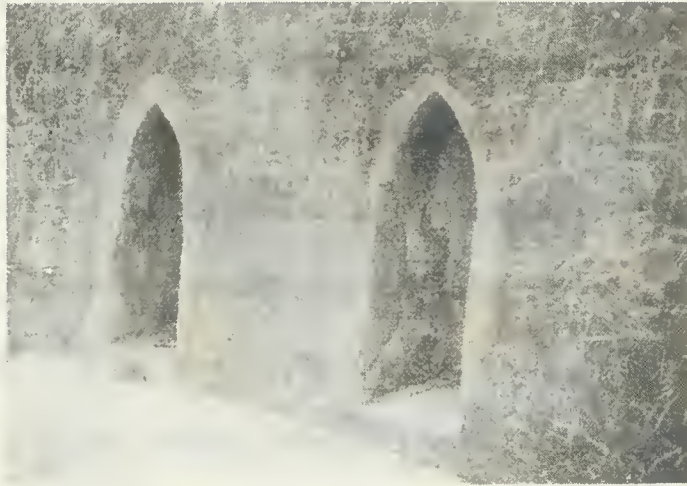


Fig. 1.9 Xitai Fort on Xiyu, Penghu County: is covered with graffiti by tourists (after Chuang Fang-jong, 1983: 61).



a.



b.

Fig. 1.10 Destruction of the moviemakers: a: Wenchangci (shrine of God of Literature) at Lugang. The wall was painted with *apsaras* of Dunhuang Buddhist Caves. b. On the wall of an old house at Lugang glued brown papers (Huang Yeung-sung, 1981: 35)

Because of the interest in tourism, protection of the historic relics, buildings and sites were legislated. To promote Tourism, the Developing Tourism Bylaw²⁸ was proclaimed in 1969. A plan for a tourist city was proposed for Tainan, the earliest developed city of Taiwan, because of its history and numerous historic buildings (Fig. 1.11). The national, provincial and municipal governments raised funds to restore some historic buildings, including the Anping fortress, Chikan lou, Yizai jinchen (old city wall), the stele of Zheng Chengong shrine, Confucius Temple, and Lu'ermen, where Marquis Zheng Chenggong and his navy landed.²⁹

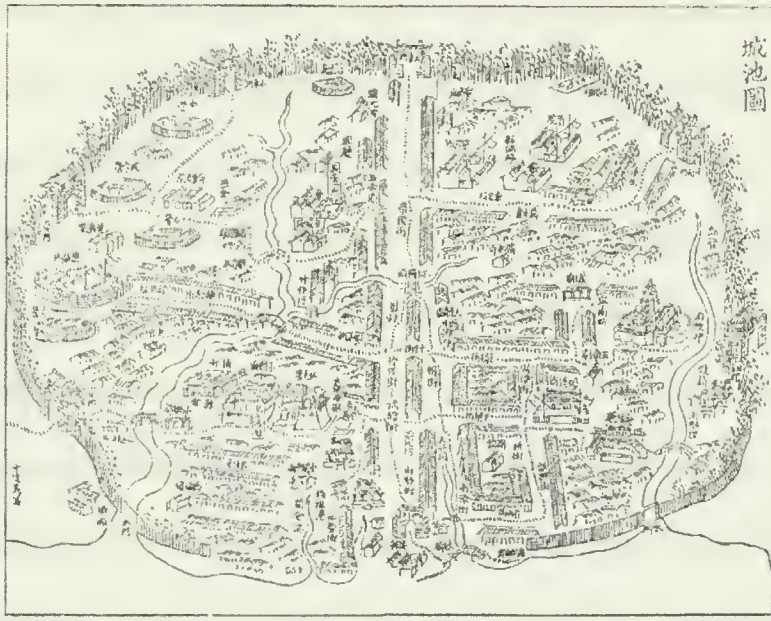


Fig. 1.11 The map of Tainan city in 1780 (Lee Chien-lang, 1980b: 95)

²⁸ Chuang Rong-fang. *Guji guanli yu weihi* 1983: 99-102. Tourism Bureau Ministry of Transportation And Communications proposed the Law. In 1974, an interesting law, "Principles of removing the Japanese colonial monumental to show the superiors of the Japanese Imperialism in the Japanese Occupation period", was issued by the Ministry of the Interior. The Japanese *shinsha* (Shinto shrines), steles showing their superiors, and Japanese style decorations in the temples have to remove completely. Those steles without special relation to Japanese Imperialism, bridges, stele or tablet in temples, and tombstones can remain in the current situation temporarily, but the government will not repair or rebuild it. Those reigns of Japanese emperors have to be converted into the reign of Republic of China.

²⁹ After the government of province of Taiwan was withdrawn in 1997, the responsibility is on central and municipal governments.

The Academic Circle

As early as the 1950s, vernacular architecture started attracting academic attention. In 1954, the first academic program of architecture was founded.³⁰ In the same year, the first architectural journal in Taiwan, *Jinri jianzhu* (today's architecture), published its first issue. This journal was meant to introduce modern architecture and ideology to the Taiwanese.³¹ For instance, architect Lu Yu-chun wrote an article "Architecture" collected in the book *Ershi shiji zhi kexue*,³² and praised vernacular buildings in Taiwan. From his point of view, the best attraction of vernacular architecture was not its "monumentality" or "form", but its "simplicity and practicality" and "local materials". However, his major concerns were still the Chinese architectural traditions and tourism.

At that time, a Masters thesis, "The Traditional Styles of Vernacular Architecture in Taiwan" written by Shao Mei³³ in 1968, drew the attention of scholars, including Reed and Chang-lin Dillingham. In 1970, the Dillinghams organized a team to investigate and measure some traditional houses and temples, and published a report of their investigations, *The Investigation of Traditional Taiwanese Architecture*.³⁴ In disregard to the Dillingham's concern of an alarming rate of demolition, the government had no interest

³⁰ Yeh Nei-chi. *Guji Baocun luenshu zhi Xincheng: Guangfu hou Taiwan Guji Baocun Yundong*, 1989: 30. The first architecture program in Taiwan was the Department of Architecture at National Cheng-Kung University, which was named Tainan Engineering Institute.

³¹ Ibid. The journal only published eleven issues.

³² This article was originally collected in Liu Shih-chao and Cheng T'ian-fang (eds.) *Ershi shiji zhi kexue* (Science in the 20th century). Taipei: Zhenzhong, 1966. It was recollected in Lu Yu-chun. *The Collection of the Essays of Professor Lu Yuchun*, 1988: 30-97.

³³ Shao Mei. *The Traditional Style of Vernacular Architecture in Taiwan*. Master Thesis of Architecture Department at Donghai University, 1968.

³⁴ Reed Dillingham and C. H. Dillingham. *A survey of Traditional Architecture in Taiwan*. Taipei, Taiwan, 1974.

in preserving these buildings. Their work did not receive a great following immediately. Years later, however, Hung Wen-hsiung, one member of their team, became an important supporter of historic preservation in Taiwan.³⁵ Inspired by these two publications, in 1980, Lee Chien-lang completed a book entitled *Taiwan Architectural History of Taiwan*,³⁶ which was written by a Taiwanese about the architectural history of Taiwan. It is still debatable whether this book established the academic field of Taiwanese architecture; however Lee is acknowledged for his pioneering work.³⁷

The restoration project of the Garden of Lin family at Banqiao (Fig. 1.12)³⁸ established the position of the academic circle in the execution of historic preservation in Taiwan. The original proposal in 1977 by the Yonggu Construction Company was to renew the garden with concrete materials. This proposal was highly criticized by the Taipei County government and the Bureau of Tourism. Through a lot of negotiations, the Office of City Planning in the Department of Civil Engineering at National Taiwan University consequently took charge of this project. Concerned about the demolition of those architectural elements, they had started investigating the garden and auxiliary buildings before signing the contract. Besides the project manager Hsia Chu-joe, a professor in the Department of History, Hsu Hsueh-chi was responsible for the documentation. Hsia

³⁵ Hung Wen-hsiung organized a team to work on the survey and preservation plan of Lin Mansion and Garden at Banqiao in the Taipei County. The team members became even more active in historic buildings.

³⁶ Lee Chien-lang, *Taiwan jianzhu shi*, Taipei: Beiwu, 1980. In his preface, Lee gives the credits to Shao Mei and the Dillinghams for the inspiring works they have done.

³⁷ Huang Lan-hsiang, "Huigu Taiwan jianzhu yu dushi shi yanjiu de jige yiti (review some issues of the studies of architectural and urban history of Taiwan)" in *Taiwan shi yanjiu yibainian: huigu yu yanjiu*, 1997: 181. From page 201-213, Huang gives a list of journals, thesis, and books on Taiwanese architecture and city planning in 1903-1995.

³⁸ Lee Chien-lang, *Taiwan jianzhu shi*, 1980: 193-196. To profit from the rice business, a merchant Lin Benyuan built this garden next to his residence in 1888-1893. The garden includes ponds, study, pavilions, theater, banquet halls, and so on.

Chu-joe and his team completed a set of drawings including plans, elevations, cross-sections and components of every building. In addition, through historic photos and documents, they rehabilitated the buildings, which had been ruined.³⁹ Their work has become the model for other restoration projects in Taiwan. For a long time, the Ministry of the Interior only entrusted professors with restorations of national monuments.



a.



b.

Fig. 1.12 The garden of Lin Benyuan at Banqiao, 1893: a. pond and artificial mountain, b. Laiqing pavilion (Lee Chien-lang, 1980b: 192, 194)

³⁹ Yeh Nei-chi., 1989: 94-95.

1.3 Grass-roots Movement

In the beginning, actions of historic preservation were actually contributed by writers, scholars and some grass-roots activists. Indigenous culture has been constantly addressed in Taiwanese literature. In literature, historical places reflect the authors' homesickness and nostalgia.⁴⁰ Due to political reasons, the Council of Local Documents, which was in charge of collecting and preserving local documents, was dismissed for many years. In the early 70's, people tried to reestablish it by means of patriotism. After Taiwan lost representation in international affairs, some scholars tried to emphasize the relationship with Chinese culture through a series of "seeking roots" activities.⁴¹ In addition, local elites started addressing the value of local history⁴².

Urbanization vs. Preservation: the Lin Mansion Event

Due to a road-widening proposal in 1976, the Taipei City Planning Committee decided to relocate the over two hundred year-old Mansion of Lin An-tai (Fig.1.13) to the suburbs. Scholars and the media were highly concerned by this decision. The next year, the city government hosted a meeting for this project. They found out that only the sidewalk

⁴⁰ Ibid, 47-48. These writers recalled childhood memories of the audience. To compensated these faded memories after modernization, the historic sites and buildings were visited as often as other sceneries.

⁴¹ Huang Yeung-sung. "Fengyu sheng xinxing (Faith in the Storms)" *Echo*, 1981 (11): 95-104, 109. *Echo* magazine organized a walking tour of historic Taipei in June 21, 1981. Although it was raining heavily that day, according to the reporters and the audience, this activity was very successful.

⁴² Lin Heng-tao (ed.). *Taiwan guji quanji*. Taipei: huwai shenghuo zazhishe, 1980: 9-10 (preface).

"Unfortunately, from the previous experience we learned that once a historic temple, house or stele is exposed to the media, there will be tons of people coming, moreover, some "educated thieves" might visit. The historic

and a small part of the new road would be affected. In the end, the Committee concluded to build an underpass or a viaduct as an alternative. However, the city government did not expect this conclusion. The chairman had to ask for the Mayor's decision, which raised the debate of preserving this mansion to its most intense point.

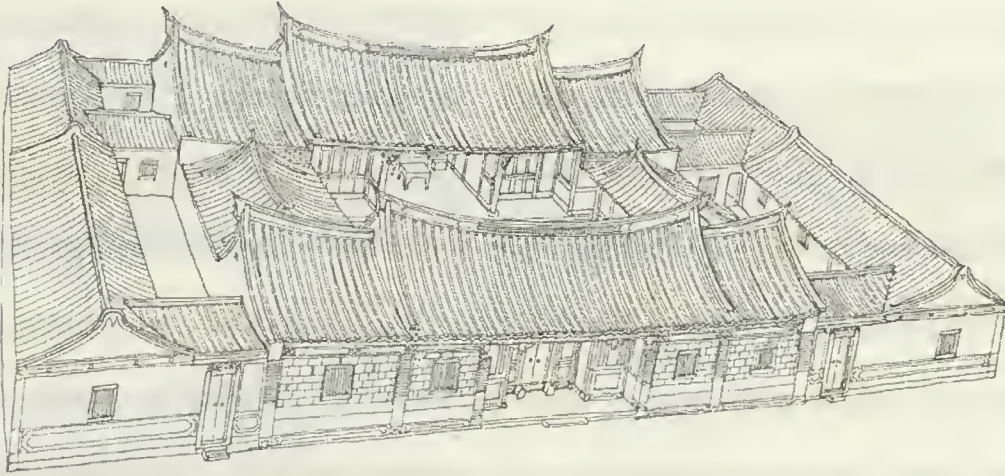


Fig. 1.13 The mansion of Lin Antai (Lee Chien-lang, 1980: 137)

With economics in mind, those against the idea of preservation worried that historic buildings would be obstacles to development. In spite of concern for real estate value, they suggested that it is better to use durable materials or other alternatives to balance the harmony of culture and environment. To them, preservation was helpless at that point.⁴³ On the other hand, the supporters of preservation nominated the Lin Mansion as a cultural heritage. However, there has not yet been a national register (see Appendix 1). Based on the findings of the Dillinghams' book, academic circles started showing great interest and respect to the vernacular architecture in Taiwan for the first time. In addition to writing

property is destroyed." In fact, the editor Lin Heng-tao was an advocator of modernism at the first place, but by the late '70s, he became a key promoter of historic preservation.

⁴³ Yeh Nei-chi. *The Formation of the Discourses of Historic Preservation*, 1989, 47-49.

articles in newspapers, some scholars even tried to show slides and photos in the media to induce the feeling of nostalgia among the public.

To resolve the controversy, in 1978, the Ministry of the Interior had to call for another meeting which included representatives from the Bureau of Tourism, Department of Education, Taiwan Literature Committee, Taipei City government, scholars and two members of city planning committee. Preservation was not a concern of the city government, just as it had not been for earlier city planners of Taipei. At that meeting, two key issues were brought onto the table. First, the Lin Mansion had not been registered as a monument by law; second, the technology of relocation was still a problem. In the end, the Lin Mansion was moved to a corner area of Taipei. Unfortunately, the process caused some irreversible damage. Many components were either broken or missing during moving.⁴⁴ This debate contributed to wide public acceptance for preservation, and promoted the legislation of the Cultural Assets Preservation Law.

1.4 Legislation: the Cultural Assets Preservation Law

After the case of Lin Mansion, some scholars and the government realized the importance of legislation, and started investigating historic sites⁴⁵. The Department of Education invited scholars and government representatives to propose the Cultural Assets

⁴⁴ Ibid, 78.

⁴⁵ Chuang Fang-jong, *Guji guanli yu weihu*, 1983: 11. In fact, the Taiwan government started investigating historical remains nationwide since 1972. In the following three years, 541 places were nominated as national heritages.

Preservation Law. After six meetings hosted by Chen Chi-lu,⁴⁶ the Cultural Assets Preservation Law was proclaimed in 1982.⁴⁷ Two years later, the Cultural Assets Preservation Bylaw was passed.⁴⁸ According to the law, cultural assets are categorized into historic artifacts, historic monuments, folk art, folk relative articles and natural landscape.⁴⁹ According to the definition, cultural assets include historic objects, historic relics, national or local arts, folklore and related objects, natural landscape, historic buildings. The historic buildings mean buildings, villages, streets or other remains with historic or cultural value, but have not yet registered as historic relics.⁵⁰ These cultural assets have to be evaluated and registered by the Ministry of the Interior, and have to be graded into three classes, which determine the responsibilities of the Ministry of the Interior, Civil Affairs Bureau of Municipal Government or that of County Government in preservation. As for the first class, thirteen buildings were assigned as national historical monuments including the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong.⁵¹ The law was revised in 1997 and 2000⁵². Today, historic preservation is still a disputed issue in Taiwan.

Just after the law was made public in 1985, 145 cultural assets were registered. Only twelve of them (8.3%) were private properties. In fact, before 1980, the Ministry of

⁴⁶ Chen Chi-lu is a member and council of Academic Sinica, the highest research institute in Taiwan. He is a well-known and respectful scholar on Archaeology and Anthropology.

⁴⁷ The Ministry of the Interior of Taiwan, R.O.C. *Cultural Assets Preservation Law*. Announced by the President on May 26, 1982.

⁴⁸ The Ministry of the Interior of Taiwan, R.O.C. *Culture Heritage Preservation Bylaw*. Proclaimed in Jan. 24, 1984. Zhuang Ronggang. *Guji guanli yu weihu*, 1983: 78. As early as 1930, there had been a law titled "Law of Ancient Objects". Five years later, the government defined the ancient objects, including architecture. This law did not cause attention until 1978.

⁴⁹ From <http://www.moi.gov.tw/div1/law/old1.htm>. In the 2000 revision of the Cultural Assets Preservation Law, the third regulation states a category of historic buildings, which are not registered as monument is added.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

⁵¹ Chao Kung-tu. *Diyiji Guji Datianhogong Zhi Yanjiu*. Taipei: MOI, 1992: 2.

the Interior had evaluated thirty-two private properties including houses, family shrines and gardens. The academic institute⁵³ also evaluated 141 private buildings, and suggested a list of 34 as historic heritages. Problematically, because of the law, once a building is registered as a cultural asset, the maintenance obligations are much more than the benefits.⁵⁴ Keeping real estate value in mind, private owners were strongly against their properties being designated as cultural heritages. Only public buildings, such as temples, had fewer problems with designation. Because of the flourishing real estate market, the designation of cultural heritages became very problematic. A representative of a historic family shrine once said in a meeting, “*It must be that our ancestors didn’t accumulate the good deeds, so that our property became one of the monuments!*”⁵⁵

The Conservation of the Dihua Street

The original 7.8-meter wide Dihua Street is a wholesale grocery row built during the Japanese occupation period (Fig. 1.14). In the 1973, the street was planned to be twenty-meters wide by city planning. With many distinctive Japanese-western-style brick row houses, it is considered the last undamaged historic street in postmodern Taipei. At that time, there was an urge for preservation. Among those promoting preservation, the

⁵² From the Website of the Ministry of the Interior of Taiwan, R.O.C. *Cultural Assets Preservation Law (Revision)*. Jan. 22 and May 14, 1997; Feb. 9, 2000. <http://www.moi.gov.tw/div1/law/old1.htm>

⁵³ Hsia Chu-joe. *Quansheng zhengyao shiji kancha yu zhengxiu jianyi: lishi guji bufen*. 1980

⁵⁴ Chuang Fang-jong. *Guji guanli yu weihu*, 1983: 87-88. Once the private property is designed as cultural heritage, any change including structure and ownership has to inform the responsible office. In addition, the government is the first priority to purchase the property. The government has the right and obligation to be in charge of its restoration. The only benefit is some restoration grant, which is case by case.

⁵⁵ This is from the author’s experience in a meeting of the private cultural heritages, which was held by the Ministry of the Interior in 1994.

Yaoshan Foundation was the most active. Through the media and activities, such as historic tours, the foundation and some scholars tried to nominate this street as a national heritage on the list of the Ministry of the Interior. These acts soon won the citizens' support, and the city government actually considered the nomination. But due to the high real estate value of their properties, the owners were strongly against preservation.⁵⁶ In the end, the street-widening plan was postponed.⁵⁷



Fig. 1.14 Dihua Street (Chao Lu-ling, 1999: 54)

⁵⁶ The standard of compensation for the property of the Government was far below the market price. Some owners did not maintain their houses, and wanted the houses to collapse naturally.

⁵⁷ This proposal was never given up, and many meetings and negotiations with the owners were held. After the hard work of the citizens and the government, in 1993, the Bureau of Development of Taipei City Government established a workshop at the site for planning here as a conservation zone.

Historic preservation in Taiwan, as in so many other locations around the world, has to deal with an important issue- the perceived controversy between economic development and cultural policy. This is an unavoidable issue for urban-concentrated populations in the middle of rush development. A development-leading policy mobilizing a society concerns itself thoroughly with the economy. The conflicts between development and preservation have tested the direction of national policy, the execution of government, and the values of society. Private properties were the biggest challenges of preservation in Taiwan. Preservation was easily considered a conservative idea. The requirements of preserving private properties marked the incapability of the execution of government and the limitations of contemporary legislation.

Folk version of the Cultural Assets Preservation Law

In addition to Dihua Street, some other private and organizational properties aroused the same conflicts.⁵⁸ After years of effort, scholars, individuals and organizations finally made up another proposal called “the folk version of the Cultural Assets

⁵⁸ Yen Liang-I. *Political Process of Urban Conservation: An Analysis of Minquan Street, Sanxia*. 1993. Before the controversy of Dihua Street, the conservation of Minquan Street of Sanxia had brought up the issue of conflicts between urban conservation and private properties. Like Dihua Street, there was a conflict between the historic Minquan Street of Sanxia and the road-widening plan in 1971. To prevent their houses from levying, the residents got involving in registering the street a cultural asset. After many scholars and organizations soliciting help for years, the street was finally designated in 1989. However, the real estate value increased dramatically by the plan of a new University in Sanxia. In 1992, the residents protested again, but this time, they requested annulling their properties from the list of cultural heritages. Without a good solution for compensation, this street with many traditional houses was freed from the registration.

Preservation Law”.⁵⁹ Their key points include, first, emphasis on citizen participation; second, a reevaluation of compensation and tax exemption, especially the possibility of execution of T.D.R. (Transferring Development Rights); third, unification of the administration management system; fourth, flexibilities of conservation methods, to verify the types of historic heritage, and to integrate them with daily life; fifth, to combine intangible and tangible properties by systemizing the teaching of the traditional technology of craftsmen.⁶⁰

Many scholars and citizens supported this grass-roots version; consequently, the Cultural Assets Preservation Law made three revisions, two in 1997 and one in 2000. As the folk version proposed, the compensation of private houses includes tax exemptions and T.D.R.;⁶¹ in addition, adaptive uses are accepted except in the case of a first-degree monument. According to the current data of the Ministry of the Interior,⁶² there are two hundred and eighty four registered historic monuments, including twenty-four first degree, forty-nine second degree, and two hundred eleven third degree monuments. Beside, some cities or counties also made their own lists and preservation methods.

1.5 Community participation

⁵⁹ Hsia Chu-joe. “The Vision of Cultural Properties: Historic Preservation with Community Participation”, in *Symposium on Cultural Properties: Historic Preservation with Community Participation*. 1995.

⁶⁰ Ibid, 5

⁶¹ Tu Ping-tzu. *Fazhanquan zhuanqi dui dushi guji baocun kexingxing yanjiu*, 1993. Based on the experience of T.D.R. in New York City, Tu and his team made case studies for Bank of Land and the Dihua Street in Taipei.

⁶² http://www.moi.gov.tw/div1/maintain/maintain_1.asp

Learning from foreign experiences

Before the Lin mansion event, Ma I-kung⁶³ had written columns introducing the American experience to promote preservation since 1976.⁶⁴ However, her efforts didn't attract too much attention. When the government realized the importance of preservation in the 80's, the first thing they did was to learn from foreign experiences. At that time, the success of historic preservation in Japan became the example. In the case of Tsumago-juku, Japan (Fig. 1.15), preservation in fact helped the economic revival of the town.⁶⁵



Fig. 1.15 The village of Tsumago-juku, Japan (Kenni Kutsuko, 1992: 58)

⁶³ Ma I-kung received her Bachelor of Architecture from Chung-yuan University, Taiwan, and Master of Urban and Regional Planning from New Jersey State University.

⁶⁴ Yeh Nei-chi. *The Formation of the Discourses of Historic Preservation*, 1989: 88-89. She wrote two article "Pioneer, explorer and advanger" and "Historic preservation in the United States" in *Fangwu shichang yuekan* (Monthly magazine of real estate market) in 1976. She tried to introduce the processes of historic preservation in the United States, including legislation, evaluation, contract, land use, tax exemption, and registration. Besides, she introduced books on the principles of preservation applied in the U.S.

⁶⁵ Kobayashi Toshihico. "Machinami-Hozon: the Case of Tsumago-juku, Japan", in *Symposium on Cultural Properties: Historic Preservation with Community Participation*, 1995.

From the perspective of integrated preservation and community participation, historic preservation has been viewed differently.⁶⁶ The Taiwan government modeled the administration system after that of Japan. They were also greatly concerned with adapting Japan's practice of combining preservation and development at their historic sites. Meanwhile, Hsia Chu-joe, who studied under Manuel Castells at University of California, Berkeley, introduced the case of Bologna to Taiwan. He emphasized that the conservation of this European city was truly a political project. Although in the end the conservation of Bologna failed to succeed, Hsia emphasized that the idea of integrated conservation⁶⁷ we learned from Bologna should be considered in historic preservation in Taiwan.⁶⁸ In addition, Hsia addressed the importance of encouraging community participation as well as adapting cultural policies that promote historic preservation.⁶⁹ Under the influence of scholars who studied in the United States, the American experience was again mentioned, but it was often considered only with urban planning or T.D.R.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Chuang Fang-jong, *Guji guanli yu weihu*, 1983: 211-239. The first delegation for historic preservation went to Japan and South Korea to learn their experiences in 1982. The system of preservation in Japan is especially impressive. The tasks are clearly distributed to the central government and local organizations. In addition, the Institute of Cultural Heritage is in charge of the studies of those cultural heritages while the local committees are founded for counseling.

⁶⁷ Cervellati, Pier-Luigi. "Preservation with Participation", in Richard Hatch (ed.) *The Scope of Social Architecture*, New York: Van Nostrand Reinhold, 1984: 239-254. In the conservation project of Bologna, the main planners Giuseppe Campos Venuti and Pier Luigi Cervellati insisted that conservation should preserve not only the buildings but also the life style of the citizens. For instance, they convinced the government while investing more public facilities into the city to control the rent for low-income tenants.

⁶⁸ Hsia Chu-joe, "Urban Conservation: the experience of Bologna, Italy", *Hansheng*, 1993.

⁶⁹ Hsia Chu-joe, "Gonggong kongjian (public space)" *Kongjian lishi yu shehui*, 1993.

⁷⁰ Tu Pingzi. *Fazhanquan zhuan yi dui dushi guji baocun kexingxing yanjiu*, 1993. Tu Ping-tzu and Hua Chang-I's proposal for the T.D.R. was one of the few researches focused on the American practice of historic preservation.

Council for Cultural Affairs

Ideas from the folk version of Cultural Assets Preservation Law such as compensation for private properties were incorporated in the second revision. From that experience, people realized the importance of policies. In addition, according to the original Cultural Assets Preservation Law,⁷¹ the Department of Civil Affairs (D.C.A.) under MOI was responsible for cultural assets. Due to the various tasks and heavy load of D.C.A., scholars and some organizations promoted the idea of having a government institution dedicated to historic preservation. On November 11, 1981 the Council for Cultural Affairs (C.C.A.)⁷² was founded to promote preservation tasks, and has sponsored many cultural events including conferences, meetings, and tours.⁷³ As for historic preservation, the C.C.A. is responsible for the unregistered historic buildings while the D.C.A. is still taking

⁷¹ Chuang Fang-jong. *Guji guanli yu weihu*, 1983: 87.

⁷² The Council for Cultural Affairs is a government association under the supervision of MOI, and is in charge of the promotion of cultural associated activities, including preservation. In these years, they hosted annual "Symposium on Cultural Properties, Historic Preservation with Community Participation" since 1994. The professions were invited from Japan, Italy, and so on. In 1999, they initiated conservation workshop, and invited experts from Germany.

⁷³ According to the Council for Cultural Affairs's *Wenjianhui chengli shinian daahi ji* (Events in the ten years after the establishment of the Council for Cultural Affairs) published in 1991, their recent achievements include drafting national culture policies, plans and laws, preserving cultural assets, guiding related government agencies to carrying out cultural tasks, establishing cultural volunteer system, guiding to set up cultural foundations, cultivating populace to appreciate the arts, fostering reading habits, furthering culture through the media, cultivating cultural talent, assisting well-known artists, spiritual healing following the September 21, 1999 earthquake, promoting Integrated Community Development, extending art to the countryside, promoting international and cross-strait (Taiwan and China) exchanges, promoting the development of modern art, enhancing the public spaces, providing cultural information, exempting tax for cultural and artistic enterprises.

charge of the national monuments.⁷⁴ Besides, the C.C.A. is responsible for many tasks related to historic preservation in Taiwan.⁷⁵

From the foreign experiences, the government learned that the more the citizens appreciate their culture, the more they will support historic preservation. Realizing the importance of having citizens educated in the fundamentals of Taiwanese culture, the C.C.A. executed a policy of “promoting integrated community development” under President Lee Teng-hui’s administration.⁷⁶ The citizens and government reached a common recognition on adoptive use and reuse of historic buildings.⁷⁷ The C.C.A. then played an important role as a government agent to negotiate and to promote historic preservation.

Movement: Community Participation

After those events described earlier, more citizens of Taiwan became aware of the importance of historic preservation. Some people who are interested in local history

⁷⁴ The Cultural Assets Preservation Law. Provision five. <http://www.moi.gov.tw/div1/law/old1.htm>

⁷⁵ The Council for Cultural Affairs. *Wenjianhui chengli shinian daahi ji*, 1991. Through these years, the Council has “inspected and assessed every grade of historical heritages, established agencies pertaining to cultural assets, conducted surveys and research of cultural assets, inspected and registered historic buildings, and coordinated with pertinent agencies to handle the preservation and safeguarding of cultural assets.”

⁷⁶ To pertain the community culture, CCA executed several projects, including “the Community Cultural Activity Development Plan”, “the Plan for Enhancing Township Exposition and Performance Facilities”, “the Plan for Assisting the Establishment of Venues for County (Municipal) Theme Expositions and Enhancing Cultural Artifact Collections” and “the Plan for Beautifying Local Traditional Cultural Sites”. It has also stepped up plans to promote the revitalization of daily life culture and local cultural production.

⁷⁷ Based on the Cultural Assets Preservation Law, Prevision 27, the C.C.A. proclaimed an executive principle to sponsor the local historic buildings in 2001. After the significance is recognition by the committee of experts and scholars, the city government should appreciate 1/3 of the planning fee and ½ to 2/3 of the restoration.

established cultural studios to promote local culture and history.⁷⁸ They believed that only when the citizens can respect culture, and participate in cultural affairs, that society could be improved. By way of promoting culture, people were involving in preserving historic buildings. In addition, some scholars advocated the idea of integrated preservation, which emphasizes that preservation should not only preserve the structures but also consider the integrity of community.⁷⁹

In the last decade of the twentieth century, historic preservation in Taiwan had a great progress by means of promoting local culture and development. Preservation was then employed as a tool of revitalizing towns and communities. Erkan, a small village in Penghu archipelago (Fig. 1.16)⁸⁰ was planned by the C.C.A. as the first example of community conservation in Taiwan⁸¹. Although the preservation of this town was originally a political result, this project gradually attracted the people of the town. Funded by the C.C.A., six representatives of Erkan went to Japan to emulate their preservation

⁷⁸ Tzeng Hsu-cheng, "The conditions and strategies for promoting community integrated construction in Hsin-gang, Chia-I county" *Symposium on Cultural Properties: Historic Preservation with Community Participation*, 1995. Hsin-gang, a town in the south Taiwan was a successful example for community participation. Lin Huai-min, the well-known dancer in Taiwan, went to his hometown Hsin-gang to perform, and donated to this town for cultural funding. Inspired by his act, people there raised a fund and established the first local cultural studio dedicated to promoting cultural affairs in Taiwan. After the success of Hsin-gang, some other local studios were founded.

⁷⁹ Hsia Chu-joe, "Gonggong kongjian (public space)" *Kongjian lishi yu shehui*, 1993: 99. Hsia addressed issues such as whom preservation serves, and why preserve. In addition, in his proposal in 1988 for Mao'ao, a small fishing village along the northeast coast of Taiwan, he had applied the ideas of integrated conservation and redevelopment of conservation modeled after the case of Bologna.

⁸⁰ Wu Shu-fen, "The case of Erkan, Penghu", in *Symposium on Cultural Properties: Historic Preservation with Community Participation*, 1995. Penghu archipelago is located in the Taiwan Strait, between China and Taiwan. Erkan, located on the island Xiyu, was a mono-lineage village of immigrants from China in the Ming Dynasty.

⁸¹ Ibid. This project was the result from the national policies on local development and historic preservation. Located on the faraway island, the population of Erkan was decreasing. However, that was the reason the historic buildings survived because the real estate value was small. Nevertheless, many native of Penghu who went to Taiwan still kept their ancestral houses there. This village was firstly planned as a Tourist district in 1985. As the national policies started promoting local culture, this village was then proposed as a "folk village" in 1989, and a preservation plan was finished in 1992.

achievement and to join their *machinami-hozon* (community preservation) meeting in 1993. In the same year, a local organization was founded in Erkan to deal with the community affairs. At the same time, several other community preservation projects were undertaken all over Taiwan.⁸² Influenced by the wave of respecting the aborigines, the villages of aboriginal Taiwanese were finally accepted in historic preservation.⁸³



Fig. 1.16 the village of Erkan at Penghu was the first village preservation project promoted by the C.C.A. in Taiwan (Mi Fu-kuo, 1992: 39)

Learning from previous mistakes and foreign experiences, scholars reached an agreement that the key of historic preservation is community participation.⁸⁴ They believed

⁸² Not only the rural towns and villages, but also some community organizations were founded by the effort of the C.C.A. and social workers. For instance, scholars and specialists established a cultural studio in Danshui (Tamkang), a small towns in Taipei County. Citizens who are interested in history and culture started participating, for instance, through preserving the Zhishanyan historic park, a studio for local culture was founded.

⁸³ Wang Ying-tang. "Hao-ch'a Lu-k'ai" and Tai Po-fen. "Panso-No-Tau Yamei" in *Symposium on Cultural Properties: Historic Preservation with Community Participation*. 1995.

⁸⁴ *Hansheng* (ECHO) magazine published three special issues "changzhu Taiwan" (to live permanently in Taiwan) in 1995 about 32 cases of historic preservation in Taiwan. They also discuss the conflicts between preservation and development of community.

that only when a community can benefit from its historic buildings, could preservation be realized. At the same time, historic preservation started appealing to citizens through the emphasis on local culture and history. For example, the entire community was unified through participation of preserving Wanggong temple at Erjie Village of Yilan County.⁸⁵ Within the idea of preserving life style, a practical consideration like adoptive use or reuse of historic buildings becomes a great concern.⁸⁶

Through the struggles over these years, the preservation law was legislated, the specified government agent was founded, budget is appropriated annually, and citizens started participating. However, lack of technology made historic preservation far behind the expectation. Bao'an Temple (Fig. 1.17) pioneered on restoration techniques, invited experts from Australia to take charge of the conservation of wall paintings.⁸⁷ In 2001, the "symposium on management of monuments and restoration practice" was held in Bao'an temple.⁸⁸

Under the national policy toward historic preservation, the Da Tianhou Gong at Tainan commenced restoration in 1986. As a national monument and an organizational property, the Da Tianhou Gong fortunately avoided problems which other private

⁸⁵ Team Zoo. "Wang-kung temple, I-lan", in *Symposium on Cultural Properties: Historic Preservation with Community Participation*. 1995.

⁸⁶ Mi Fu-kuo. "the Research of Historic Buildings, and their Preservation and Reuse" Tam-kang University. Mi concluded five different ways for reuse: remaining the present condition, commercial use, public use, the integrated development, and community or village preservation.

⁸⁷ The Bao'an Temple. *Dadao* (the great way). 2002 No. 24.

⁸⁸ The Bao'an Temple. *Dadao* (the great way). 2002 No. 24-26. The Bao'an Temple is located in the historic area of Taipei city. While undergoing the restoration of the Bao'an temple in 1995, the chairman of the temple committee proposed a community revival project. He planned to combine all the historic temples and the neighborhood to form a historic district. This project was accepted in the newly city planning, and several polices including transportation, local education and landscape were executed. This symposium was

properties had to deal with. However, other issues such as politics and technology were raised through the restoration project of the Da Tianhou Gong. In the following chapters, I shall discuss in detail the project and its related issues.



Fig. 1.17 the Bao'an Temple in Taipei invited Australian experts to restore the wall paintings (Chao Lu-ling, 1999: 186)

Chapter 2: Mazu Temple (Temple of the Empress of Heaven)

2.1 The Significance of Mazu

Mazu is the most popular goddess in Southern China, where stories of her past life are commonly transmitted orally as well as written in countless printed texts published by folklore organizations, historians and the temples themselves.¹ Earlier accounts about Mazu all described her as a woman who lived in the Song Dynasty (960-1279 AD).² It is said that Mazu was born in the first year of the reign of Song Taizu (960 AD) at Meizhou, Putian County of Fujian Province in China (Fig.2.1).³



Fig. 2.1 Map of Fujian province, China (Caroline Liou, 2000: 424)

¹ Stephan Feuchtwang, *Popular Religion in China: the Imperial Metaphor*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001: 86.

² Shih Wan-shou, *Taiwan de Mazu Xinyang* (The cult of Mazu in Taiwan). Taipei: Taiyuan chuanbanshe, 2000: 16-18. Before the cult of Mazu became popular all over China, Ming scholar Sima Wengong had a theory that Mazu was truly an imaginative figure. From his point of view, a woman with such magnificent power is probably a heavenly being. His point was carried by some of the later Ming and Qing scholars.

³ Lin Mingyu, *Mazu Chuanshou* (The Legends of Mazu). Taipei: Lianya shuju, 1975: 60-62. Lin categorized historical records into six different sayings, and compared their possibilities. According to *Xinghua fuzhi* (gazetteer of Xinghua County) of Zhou Ying, Mazu was a witch in Song dynasty, and had an ability to predict the fortunes and misfortunes.

She appeared at first as a seafarer's daughter, as the myth goes: "She was named Moniang (mute maiden) because as a child she never cried. During a stormy night, while weaving, Mazu suddenly fell asleep still holding the weaving shuttle and stepping on the pivot. Her mother was worried and woke her up. Mazu was shocked and dropped the shuttle; she then cried out 'Daddy is fine, but my brother is dead!' After the storm, neighbors confirmed the message. When her father got home, he reminisced that during the terrible storm and the tidal wave, he felt that his boat was being held by something, but her brother's boat suddenly capsized. In fact, that is because Mazu went to save them while she was sleeping, but unfortunately was interrupted which caused her to lose her brother."⁴

As a human being in the secular world, a procession of deification in Chinese popular religions required miracles.⁵ Before she died, Mazu had demonstrated powers that guided fishermen through storms to safety (Fig. 2.2).⁶ As her miracles developed, she became associated with a local official's family.⁷ The biography of Mazu *Tianfei Xianshen Lu* (The Records of the Miracles by the Heavenly Concubine) written by monk Zhaocheng in the Ming Dynasty has been popular among the people (Fig.2.3). It is now

⁴ Ibid. pp. 98-99. Translated by author.

⁵ Valerie Hansen. *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1990: 79-104. The more miracles the deities performed, the higher titles they were granted by the emperors.

⁶ Lin Mingyu. *Mazu Chuanshou* (The Legends of Mazu). 1975: 124-154. According to local gazetteers and folk stories, the miracles Mazu performed developed from saving common people to helping officials succeed in the missions. Also see pp. 95-105. The myths of Mazu mixed with Confucianism, Buddhism and Daoism. During her travels, she suppressed some special demons such as *qianliyan* (monster with thousand league eyes) and *shenfenger* (monster with ears that could hear sounds miles away) to help her.

⁷ Shih Wan-shou. *Taiwan de Mazu Xinyang*. 2000: 13-16. In the Song Dynasty, she was described as a fisherman's daughter, who was a psychic. As her titles were constantly bestowed and her believers were continuously increasing, she was shown as an Official's daughter through Yuan Dynasty to Qing Dynasty.

most widely believed that “Mazu is the sixth child of Lin Yuan, who was a military officer of Putian County.”⁸



Fig. 2.2 The demon servants of Mazu: *qianliyan* (monster with thousand league eyes) and *shenfenger* (monster favorable wind ears) from the Mazu temple at Lugang, Taiwan (Joseph Bosco and Ho Puay-Peng, 1999: Fig. 4a-a, b)

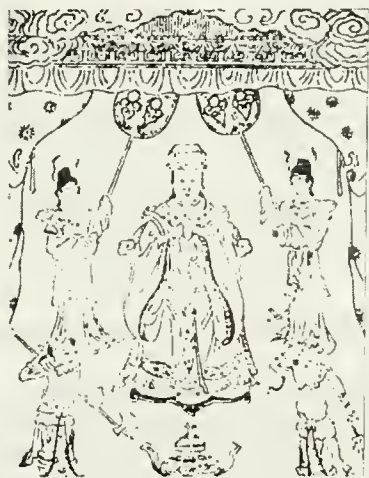


Fig. 2.3 Image of Mazu from the Song dynasty (*Tianfei Xiansheng Lu*) (Shih Wan-shou, 2000: 120)

⁸ Ibid, 60 & 80. Besides, a textual research of Mazu’s kinship, *Tianshang Shengmu Yuanliu Yinguo* (result of the origin of the Holy Mother of the Heaven), done by someone from Qing dynasty claims that the earliest ancestor of the Lin family went back to Bigan, who was loyal but oppressed by King Zhou of Shang Dynasty. His descendant Lin Di served as *Huangmen Shihlang* (Vice Director of Chancellery) and immigrated to Fujian with the Yuan Emperor of Jin Dynasty. In this research, many of the Lin descendants served for the courts. Mazu was a daughter of Lin Weique. Lin Mingyu categorized the theories into five and discussed each of them. He summed up: “Lin Yuan, style Weique, lived in the late Five-Dynasties to early Song period. The legend said that he once served as Chief Military Inspector. Lin Yuan is an intimate name among the people.”

Refusing to marry and childless, Mazu is believed to have transcended to a goddess at the age of twenty-eight,⁹ and is usually represented as a matronly woman. Her popular name sometimes refers to her as “mother” or “grandmother”; for instance, in Taiwan and Fujian, she is known as Mazu (ancestral goddess).¹⁰ People often say that she is like a mother and protects her children as a mother would.¹¹

Mazu is in many ways a water deity.¹² It is not surprising that the cult of Mazu is mainly practiced in the southeast coast of China, and along the canal from Fujian to Zhejiang.¹³ Mazu is regarded as a protector from dangers during fishing and business traveling along the river.¹⁴ Besides, her miracles to cure people made her popular. Because of her nun-like purity, the attributes of her images are often similar to those of Buddhist savior deities, particular the *bodhisattva* called Guanyin, Goddess of Mercy.¹⁵ The earliest account of worshiping Mazu is the first Mazu temple erected at Ninghai, Putian of Fujian province in 1086. Thirty-eight years later, Mazu was firstly crowned as “Lady Shunji (Divine Kindly Lady)” by the Song emperor.¹⁶ Since then, Mazu constantly

⁹ Joseph Bosco and Puay-peng Ho. *Temples of the Empress of Heaven*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1999: 4.

¹⁰ Ibid. 8-9. In Macao, the term ‘Ah-ma’ or ‘Niangma’ is used, and in other areas, she is sometimes known as ‘Mazupo’, a dialect version of grandma. All these examples include the character ‘ma’ for mother. Also see Hsu Hsue-chi. *Penghu Tianhogong Baocuen Jihua* (The Restoration Plan of Penghu Mazu Temple). Taipei: Department of Civil Engineering of National Taiwan University, 1983: 22. The Chinese believe that to include Mazu as a family member will guaranty her blessing and protection.

¹¹ Ibid. In this aspect, Bosco and Ho think that her premature death, like the Catholic concept of virgin birth, creates a ‘virgin mother’.

¹² Joseph Bosco and Puay-peng Ho. *Temples of the Empress of Heaven*. 1999: 3. Thirty-five of the forty-eight entries in one collection of her stories, for example, deal with water.

¹³ Valerie Hansen. *Changing Gods in Medieval China, 1127-1276*, 1999: 145-147.

¹⁴ Hsu Hsue-chi. *Penghu Tianhogong Baocuen Jihua*. 1983: 23. Although the legends had promoted Mazu an omnipotent goddess, her cult was mainly popular among the merchants and fishermen.

¹⁵ Stephan Feuchtwang. *Popular Religion in China: the Imperial Metaphor*. Richmond, Surrey: Curzon Press, 2001: 86

¹⁶ Tuotuo. *Song Shi* (history of the Song Dynasty). juan 105: 2562. Also see Song Xu. *Song Huiyao Jigao* (A draft version of the important documents of the Song). Li (Ritual) 20: 6-7. reprint. Taipei: Xinwenfeng

received more and higher titles. In 1278, the Mongolian conqueror Kublai Khan named her the Celestial Concubine, and the Qing emperor Kangxi elaborated her to “Tianhou” (Empress of the Heaven) in 1839 (Fig. 2.4).¹⁷ In many cases, the Emperors gave her titles by which she was already being popularly referred, thus legitimizing local customs and trying to marshal local cultural forces, rather than truly leading the cult¹⁸.

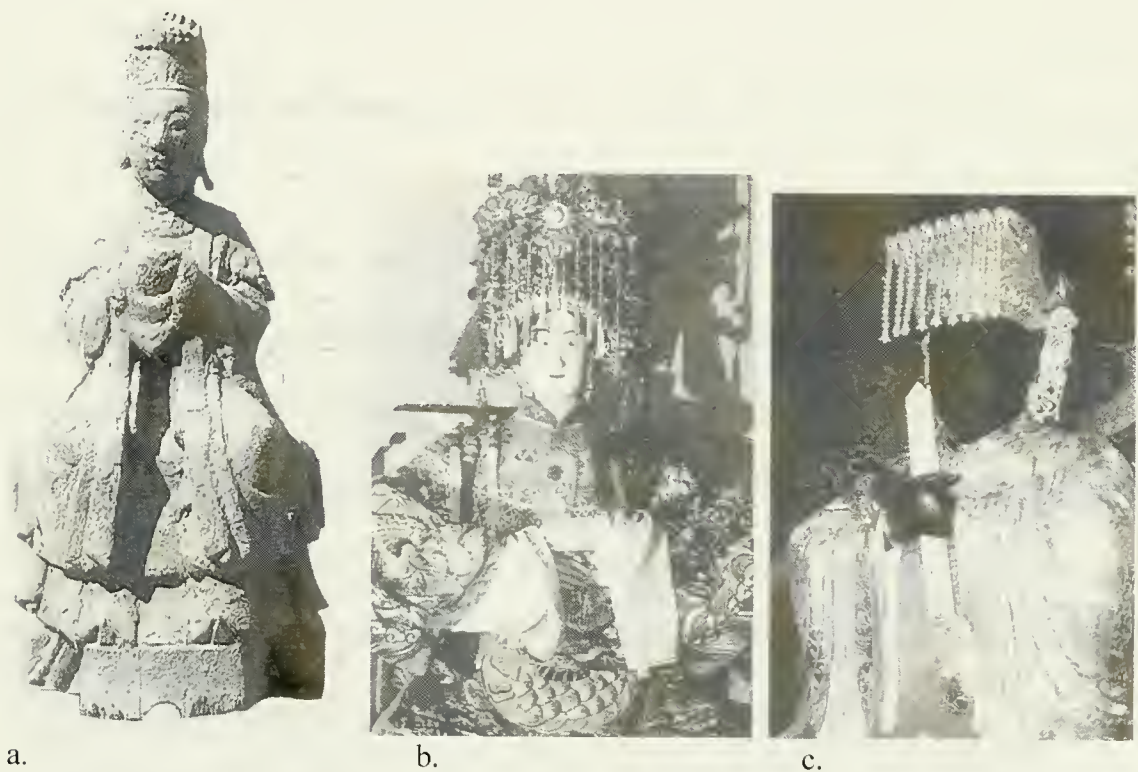


Fig. 2.4 Images of Mazu indicate the evolution of her titles: a. wood statue of Mazu (Lady) at Meizhou in the Song (*Renjian*, 1987: 22) b. a statue of Tianfei (Concubine of the Heaven) from Putian, Fujian (Shih Wan-shou, 2000: 46) c. statue of Tianhou (Empress of the Heaven) at Tainan Da Tianhou Gong in the Qing dynasty (photographed by the author)

chubanshe, 1962. A Song *boshi* (scholar official) at Taichang Si (the Court of Imperial Sacrifices), Wang Gu, petitioned the emperor saying “Grant temple plaques (e) to all temples with no noble titles (juehao). Add titles—first marquis (hou), then lord (gong), then king (wang)—to those who held ranks when alive, let them keep their original rank. For females, first give them the title lady (furen), then concubine (fei). These titles should first contain two characters and then four more can be added.

¹⁷ Shih Wan-shou. *Taiwan de Mazu Xinyang*, 2000: 52-3. Also see Chao Kung-tu. *Da Tianhougong zhi Yanjiu*. (Studies on the Temple of Great Heavenly Empress). Taipei, Neizhengbu, 1992: 22.

¹⁸ Shih Wan-shou. *Taiwan de Mazu Xinyang*, 2000: 219-221.

In addition to the titles, temples dedicated to Mazu also increased, including those funded by both the government and the public. According to historic records, there were at least 145 Mazu temples in China, and 129 of them were built during the Ming Dynasty.¹⁹

2.2 The Mazu Cult in Taiwan

It was the custom that fishermen carry a statue of the goddess on their boats. When Chinese first settled in Taiwan during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the migrants brought the worship of Mazu with them to the island.²⁰ The first Mazu temple was built in Penghu (a small island between China and Taiwan) in the early seventeenth century (Fig. 2.5).²¹ The Mazu cult soon spread all over Taiwan. Before the Ming dynasty, there was only one Mazu temple at Penghu on Taiwan; between 74-78 more were built in the Qing dynasty before the Japanese colonial period (1895). According to the investigation by the Japanese in 1940, there were 306 Mazu temples.²² In 1997, there were about 800 temples dedicated to Mazu in Taiwan.²³ That the cult of Mazu became popular in Taiwan is also attributed to the encouragement of the Qing emperor, Kangxi.

¹⁹ Shih Wan-shou. *Taiwan de Mazu Xinyang*. 2000: 163-5. Also see chapter 4-5 for the historical research of important Mazu temples and the details about the distribution of Mazu temples in each province of China through the Song to the Ming dynasties.

²⁰ Joseph Bosco and Ho Puay-peng. *Temples of the Empress of Heaven*. 1999: 10.

²¹ Hsu Hsueh-chi. *The Restoration Project of Penghu Mazu Temple*. 1983: 28-31. Hsu has a discussion about the date of this Mazu temple.

²² Ronald G. Knapp. *China's Vernacular Architecture: House Form and Culture*. 1989: 82-83, and the photos in Chao, Kung-du. (1992). *The Study of Tainan Great Mazu temple*, 1992.

When the Manchurians had just conquered China, there were some fugitive Princes and their followers in South China; finally Prince Ningjing retreated with the troop of Marshal Zheng Chenggong to Taiwan. When Marshal Zheng died, his son Zheng Jing couldn't keep the morale of the fighting force as his father did. Meanwhile, Mazu belief was actually used as a means to win the Chinese over.²⁴ Realizing the importance of the popular religion in Chinese society, Emperor Kangxi of the Qing Dynasty bestowed many titles and temple tablets to Mazu to comfort the Chinese who lived along the southeast coast of China.



Fig. 2.5 The Mazu temple at Penghu (Department of Civil Engineering of National Taiwan University, 1983: plate 6-4)

²³ Joseph Bosco and Ho Puay-peng. *Temples of the Empress of Heaven*. 1999: 11. In addition, there were about 500 in Mainland China.

²⁴ Shih Wan-shou. *Taiwan de Mazu Xingyang*, 2000: 68.

That is one of the reasons why it spread so fast, and the Qing emperors paid so much attention to it; nevertheless, the Qing dynasty operated an official Mazu temple, which is the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong (the Great Mazu Temple at Tainan). The Japanese played a similar political strategy to govern Taiwan by promoting three popular deities- Mazu, Chenghuang (city god) and Guandi²⁵ (emperor Guan, the god of military and strategic prowess).²⁶ In addition, Mazu is credited with protecting Taiwan from Allied bombers during World War II. As a result, she is thought of as the protector of native Taiwanese whose ancestors made the dangerous crossing from Fujian centuries ago.²⁷

Throughout the Chinese world, the temple has been the symbol and focal point of a community.²⁸ In Taiwan, some early Mazu temples were built by the sea or in the fishing villages. As the cult of Mazu spread widely, farming villages also adopted the worship of Mazu.²⁹ Like other popular religions, there are territorial ritual organizations attached to Mazu temples.³⁰ On special occasions, such as the legendary birthday of Mazu³¹ or the Lantern Festival,³² they organize ceremonies and processions (Fig. 2.6).³³

²⁵ Hsu Hsueh-chi. *The Restoration Project of Penghu Mazu Temple*. 1983: 23.

²⁶ Ibid.

²⁷ Joseph Bosco and Ho Puay-peng. *Temples of the Empress of Heaven*. 1999: 13. The early migrants from China were mainly from the southeast coast of China such as Fujian and Guangdong, where the worship of Mazu had practiced. They and their descendants believed that Mazu continuously protected them from danger and constantly associated miracles with her.

²⁸ Joseph Bosco and Ho Puay-peng. *Temples of the Empress of Heaven*. 1999: 51. This community can be a residential one, such as a village or neighborhood, or it can be dispersed, villages typically had one main temple that held an annual festival in which all village families participated. In traditional cities, every neighborhood had a temple that defined it as a community.

²⁹ Hsu Ming-fu and Hsu Ming-chuan. *Tainan Shi Mazu miao zhi Bianqian*. (The Transformation of Mazu Temples in Tainan City). Tainan, Taiwan, 1997: 56-57. Also in Bosco, Joseph and Ho Puay-peng. *Temples of the Empress of Heaven*. 1999: 17. Bosco and Ho think that the other reason why Mazu was adopted in farming villages was to seek official favours in the Qing Dynasty.

³⁰ Stephan Feuchtwang. *Popular Religion in China: the Imperial Metaphor*. 2001: 120-1. There is simply a sharing of incense between the sub-regions.

³¹ Joseph Bosco and Ho Puay-peng. *Temples of the Empress of Heaven*. 1999: 51. Her birthday is on the twenty-third day of the third lunar month, usually falling in April or early May.

The annual procession on Mazu's birthday has become one of the most important religious activities in Taiwan (Fig. 2.7). Pilgrimages to major sites (*jinxiang*) are normally held in the months before the festival period, so that the Mazu statue can return to her home temple when worshippers come on her birthday. Perhaps the importance of Mazu is most apparent in the widespread practice of *fengxiang* (division of incense) ceremony,³⁴ which has been written about widely.



Fig. 2.6 Mazu in the palanquin touring around neighborhood in the procession (Joseph Bosco and Ho Puay-Peng, 1999: fig. 14)

³² Ibid. Lantern Festival is on the fifteenth day of the first lunar month. The procession of Mazu on Lantern Festival is popular in Taiwan and Fujian.

³³ For the detail of the procession, see Joseph Bosco and Ho Puay-peng, *Temples of the Empress of Heaven*, 1999: 67. Since Tianhou is often a deity uniting a larger district, including many village and neighborhood temples, Tianhou festival processions often involved all the temples in the main temple's district.

³⁴ Stephan Feuchtwang, *Popular Religion in China: the Imperial Metaphor*, 2001: 88. The procession often brings to a local incense burner the figure of a protector god from a temple in a more central place. This is the temple in a ceremony called 'division of incense' (*fengxiang*). The very act of bringing a figure from a more central place defines the place to which it is brought, for it is met as it arrives at the boundary of the local temple's area and is paraded in a sedan chair on a tour of its boundaries and residences accompanying the figure taken from the local temple.

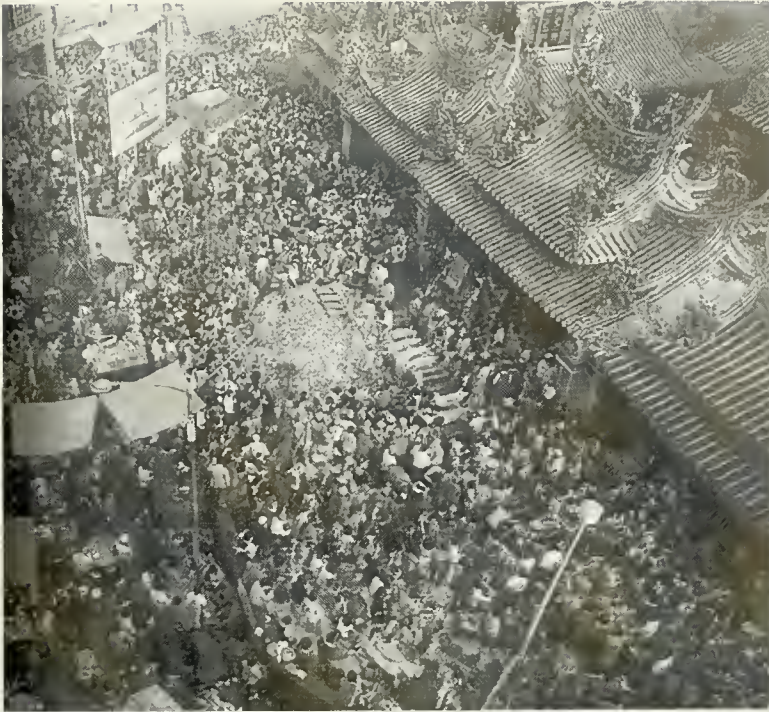


Fig. 2.7 Pilgrims in the procession on the birthday of Mazu in 1997 (photo provided by Chao Kung-tu)

The political separation between China and Taiwan was brought closer by the cult of Mazu. To celebrate the 1000th anniversary of the transcendence of Mazu in 1987, some Mazu temples in Taiwan had a big debate over which Mazu statues were authentic. The committee of the Mazu temple (Zhenlan Gong) at Dajia disregarded the policy, and brought back a statue of Mazu from Meizhou, Fujian (Fig. 2.8).³⁵ This event appealed to numerous pilgrims, and received a lot of attention from the media because of the political tension (Fig. 2.9).³⁶ Since indirect travel between Taiwan and China has begun³⁷, over

³⁵ Wang Mo-lin. "Ba Meizhou Mazu Yinhui Jia" (Greeting Mazu of Meizhou home). *Renjian* (People), No. 26, 1987: 38-43. Zhenlan Gong at Dajia was considered to receive the *fengxiang* (division of incense) from another Mazu temple, Chaotian Gong at Beigang.

³⁶ The travels between China and Taiwan were forbidden since 1949. In 1987, Taiwan and China initiated indirect travels (via transfer from Hong Kong or third countries such as Japan).

³⁷ By law, in order to travel to China from Taiwan, one must first go to another country such as Japan or Hong Kong, and vice versa.

100,000 Taiwanese per year reportedly travel to Meizhou to worship at the ancestral Mazu temple there.³⁸



Fig. 2.8 The Mazu temple at Meizhou, Fujian (*Renjian* 1987: 18)



Fig. 2.9 The committee members of Mazu temple at Dajia with the mission of bringing back a statue of Mazu from Meizhou, Fujian in 1987 arrived Meizhou (*Renjian*, 1987: 24)

³⁸ Joseph Bosco and Ho Puay-peng, *Temples of the Empress of Heaven*, 1999: 11. Also see Zhang Xun, “Beinian lai Taiwan Hanren zongjiao yanjiu de renleixue huigu” (An anthropological review of the studies on the religions of the Han people in Taiwan over 100 years) in Huang, Fu-san, etc (eds.), *Taiwan shi yanjiu yibainian: huigu yu yanjiu*, Taiwan shi yanjiu yibainian: huigu yu yanjiu, 1997: 234-248. Zhang explains clearly about the scholarship on Mazu studies in Taiwan.

2.3 History of the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong (the Great Mazu Temple at Tainan)

The Tainan Da Tianhou Gong was first built in 1664 at Tainan, which was the first city of Taiwan. When the fugitive prince of the Ming Dynasty, Zhu Chugui, retreated to Taiwan, a palace *Yiyuanzi yuan* (garden of Yiyuanzi) named after the style of the king was built for him (Fig. 2.10).³⁹ Although it was built in a limited time and with insufficient materials, the palace still maintained Chinese architectural traditions and etiquette.⁴⁰

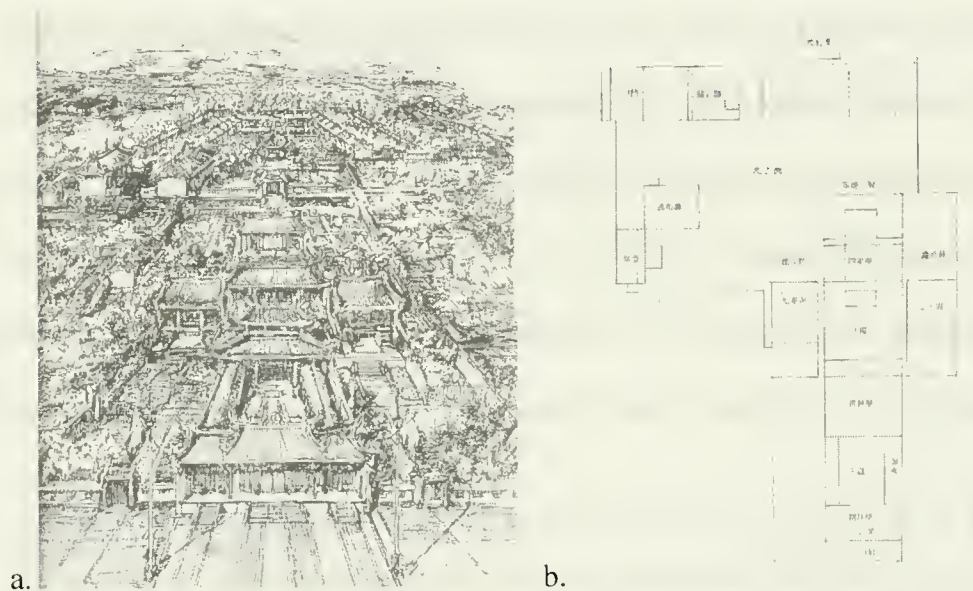


Fig. 2.10 The reconstruction perspective drawing of the *Yiyuanzi yuan* palace and surrounding area (Chao Kung-tu, 1992: 56) and the plan of the *Yiyuanzi yuan* (Shih Wanshou, 2000: 237)

³⁹ Chao Kung-tu. *Da Tianhou Gong zhi Yanjiu*. 1992: 44-5. After Marshal Zheng Chenggong died, his son Zheng Jing succeeded his will to fight with the Manchurians. Zheng Jing then invited King Ningjing of the Ming Dynasty to Taiwan to legalize his troops. A palace for the Prince was built.

⁴⁰ Timber is the principal material used in Chinese architecture. The *Yingzao fashi* (Building Standards) was compiled by Li Jie, superintendent of construction at the court of Emperor Huizong of the Song dynasty. Published in 1103, the *Yingzao fashi* consisted of thirty-four chapters which are devoted to rules governing the design of foundations, fortification, stone masonry and ornamental carving, major carpentry (main structure) and minor carpentry (detailed structure). The structural principles were generally followed regardless of the changes of the rulers. A later architectural manual *Gongcheng zuofa seli* (Structural Regulations) published in 1734 was based on the *Yingzao fashi*, but was more specified. For more information, see Liang Sicheng and Wilma Fairbank. *A Pictorial History of Chinese Architecture*. Cambridge, Mass.: M.I.T. Press, 1984.

The palace complex included a governmental area and a residential area behind it. According to history, the Ming Prince did not recover the dynasty; instead he committed suicide with his five concubines.⁴¹ General Shi Lang, who had surrendered the Qing emperor, defeated Zheng's troops and took over Taiwan in 1683. Shi Lang then occupied the palace. According to *Qing Shilu*, the Qing emperor Kangxi had shown distrust for Shi Lang in 1684.⁴² Within high political sensibility, Shi Lang immediately credited Mazu for defeating Zheng's troop,⁴³ and converted the governmental area of the palace into a Mazu temple while the residential area was ruined or occupied by Shi's troop and the public.⁴⁴ One month later, Emperor Kangxi bestowed the title Tianhou (Heavenly Empress) to Mazu, and ordered an annual official sacrifice⁴⁵ to this temple. During the Qing period, although numerous Mazu temples were built, the Da Tianhou Gong was the only Mazu temple, which received governmental sacrifice in Taiwan. Converted from a palace, the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong was the largest Mazu temple in Taiwan during the Qing

⁴¹ Wang Bichang. *Chongxiu Taiwan fazhi* (revision of local records of Taiwan). Juan 15. reprint. Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985.

⁴² *Qing Shilu: Shengzu Renhuangdi Shilu*. Juan. 116. reprint Beijing: Zhonghua shuju, 1985: 207. The Qing Emperor Kangxi asked about Shi Lang's personality from a scholar official, Xi Gui. Xi replied that Shi Lang is a talent person, and is good at military; however he seems an emulative person. The Qing emperor then said, "(He is) a rough military man, and unknowledgeable. It is a certainty that he is narrow-minded and is haughty because of his military merits." Translated by the author.

⁴³ Zhou Zhongxuan. *Zhuluo Xian Zhi* (Gazetteer of Zhuluo County, Fujian). Vol. 12. 1719. "In the 22nd year of the reign of Kangxi (1683), Marshal Jinghai Shih Lang received the imperial order to conquer Taiwan. The battle was held in Penghu. After the defeat, our troop landed (Tainan). While entering this temple, the troop saw the Heavenly Concubine (the highest title of Mazu at that time). The sweat on her face hadn't dried up, and her robe was completely wet. We then knew that the Goddess helped us in the battle." In fact, giving the merit to Mazu was an old political trick. In 1680, when another general Wan Zhengse conquered Xiamen (Amoy) and Jinmen, he had credited Mazu's help. Mazu was then promoted to "Heavenly Concubine", and was listed in the official sacrifice.

⁴⁴ Chao Kung-tu. *Da Tianhou Gong zhi Yanjiu*, 1992: 39. Shih Lang destroyed the entire left wing called "zongren fu" (ancestral temple) to symbolize the destruction of the Ming Dynasty.

⁴⁵ Like the other dynasties, the Qing court also had special codes on ritual. According to *Qing Huidian* (the imperial codes of the Qing dynasty), the Emperors and their officials had to offer sacrifices to certain temples every spring and fall. These temples included Buddhist, Daoist and popular pantheons, who were merited for their contributions.

dynasty, and is still the largest one in Tainan today. To seek blessings and peace, people from other villages of Taiwan came to the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong for the incense in order to build their own local Mazu temples.⁴⁶ Some crowds stayed in the surrounding vacant lots. Their temporary houses later became a problem, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

As more titles were bestowed on Mazu in the Qing Dynasty, the Da Tianhou Gong received special attention from the government. Two small halls were erected on each side of the Rear Hall in 1740, and twenty-five years later, an official hall was added to the front. The temple was constantly maintained. In 1775, the magistrate Jiang Yuanshu appropriated money to repair the Da Tianhou Gong; three years later he erected a stele and recorded the restoration in a book *Chongxiu Taijun ge jianzhu tushuo* (Illustration of restoration of every building in the Tai prefecture). The illustration of the Da Tianhou Gong in this book is the first pictorial record of the Da Tianhou Gong (Fig. 2-11). According to the drawing, in front of the Da Tianhou Gong there was a performance stage, which was possibly built by Jiang Yuanshu.⁴⁷ Unfortunately, in 1818, the Da Tianhou Gong suffered a big fire. Rebuilding the official Mazu temple, Da Tianhou Gong, was urgent.⁴⁸ In addition to the government, the *sanjiao*⁴⁹ (chamber of commerce) was highly involved in the rebuilding. The first project took two-and-half

⁴⁶The Tainan Da Tianhou Gong Committee. *Sidian Tainan Da Tianhou Gong*. (brochure) 1999: 4-5.

⁴⁷Chao Kung-tu. *Da Tianhou Gong zhi Yanjiu*, 1992: 78-81.

⁴⁸Ibid. The other reason for the local people highly involving the restoration of the Da Tianhou Gong is that the concern of safety in the Taiwan Strait after the rebellion led by a pirate Cai Qian.

⁴⁹The *sanjiao* in Taiwan can be traced back to early eighteenth century. The *sanjiao* (three *jiao*) included three associations of merchants- north, south and sugar *jiao*, each of which sold goods from northern Fujian, southern Fujian, and sugar and rice. They united and were very influential not only on economy but politics, education, religion, and social activities.

years including building the structures⁵⁰ in the northern complex. The four halls on the central axis were not completed until 1825 due to severe damages. After the rebuilding was finished, a stone stele was carved to record the event, as well as donors and donations. From the stele inscription, we learn that half of the funds were contributed by the *sanjiao*, and the rest of money was collected from those who had connection with the *sanjiao* or the Da Tianhou Gong. The main structures of the Da Tianhou Gong today are based on this rebuilding. Moreover, during this rebuilding, many delicate stone and wooden carvings were added to the Da Tianhou Gong.⁵¹ After that, the *sanjiao* replaced the government in taking care of the maintenance of the Da Tianhou Gong as the popularity of Mazu increased. When the Qing dynasty lost its power in the late nineteenth century, the *sanjiao* was also influenced by economical depression, and the maintenance of Da Tianhou Gong was neglected.

⁵⁰ Including Guanyin Hall, official hall, dressing room (for the officials) and entrance.

⁵¹ Chao Kung-tu. *Da Tianhou Gong zhi Yanjiu*, 1992: 79-82. Chao suggested examining the joints of those components to confirm the dates of these art works.

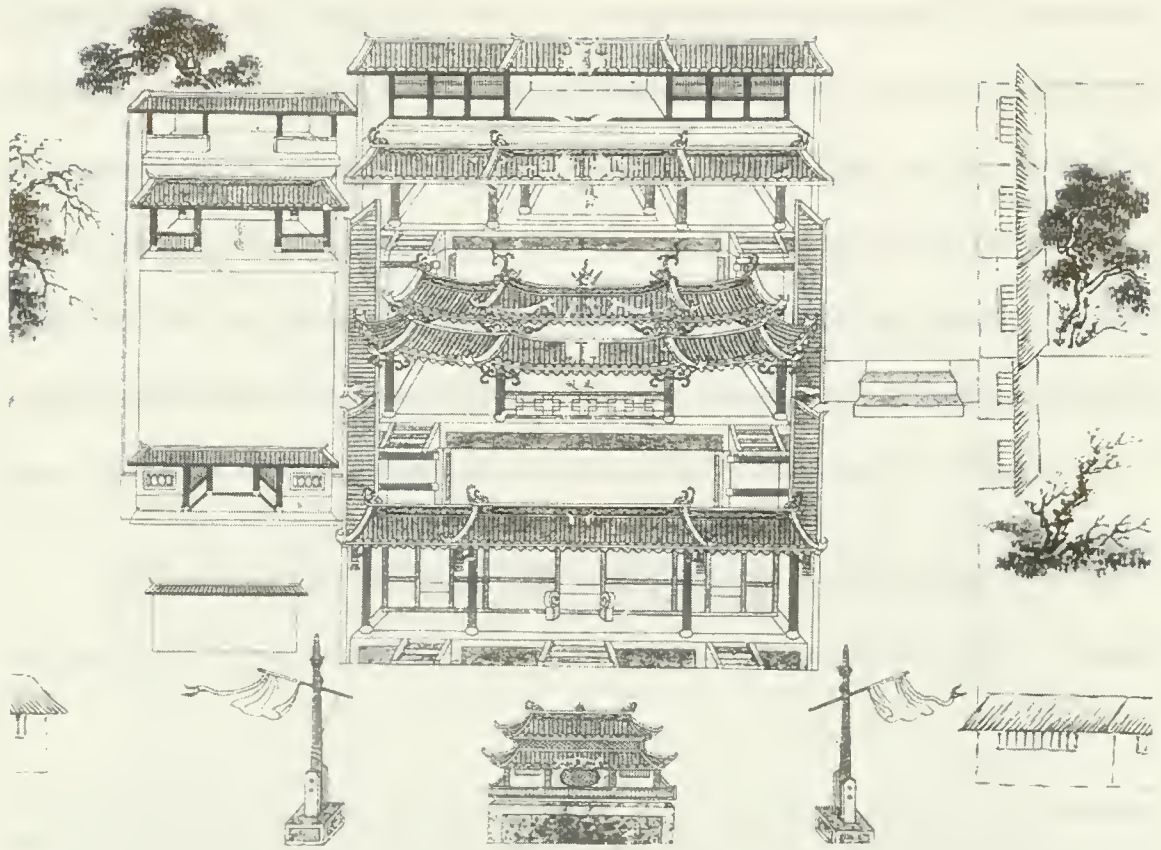


Fig. 2.11 The illustration of Tainan Da Tianhou Gong in *Chongxiu Taijun ge jianzhu tushuo* (Jiang Yuanshu, 1775: 70)

2.4 Architecture of the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong

Originally built for the fugitive prince, the Da Tianhou Gong functioned as a palace. Like many other Chinese buildings, the palace consisted of four halls along an axis. On the southern side of the main hall was a hall called *Zongrenfu* (Hall of the Court

of the Imperial Clan),⁵² and the one on the northern side was *Jianjunfu* (Hall of the Army Inspecting Censor).⁵³ One of the unique features of the Da Tianhou Gong is its orientation. Chinese architecture is usually oriented north and south, but the orientation of the Da Tianhou Gong is east to west. It is because the original palace followed the rule of *fengshui*,⁵⁴ and also symbolized the recovery bastion of the Ming dynasty.⁵⁵ Because King Ningjing did not ascend to the throne, his palace was not as luxurious as an imperial palace. However, nor was it close to the scale recorded in *Ming Huidian* (Ming code).⁵⁶

In Chinese architectural history, the residences of gods were modeled after that of the emperors.⁵⁷ It was not difficult to convert a palace to a temple. Most of the existing

⁵² Charles O. Hucker. *A Dictionary of Official Titles in Imperial China*. Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1985: 531. *Zongrenfu* was Court of the Imperial Clan in the Ming Dynasty. It was responsible for maintaining the imperial genealogy, keeping records on births, marriages, deaths, and all matters pertaining to the imperial kinsmen.

⁵³ Ibid, p.147. Army Inspecting Censor was designation of an Investigating Censor commissioned on an ad. hoc. basis to accompany an army on campaign, monitor its activities, and independently report to the throne. When the Prince was invited to Taiwan by General Zheng Chenggong, he was also entitled *jianjun*, Army Inspecting Censor.

⁵⁴ Ronald G. Knapp. *China's Traditional Rural Architecture*. 1986, 108-121. Chinese buildings communicate components of a dynamic tradition, which reveal Chinese cosmology and folk beliefs in practical terms. The location, plan and the architectural features could be considered as a microcosm of the spirits. This has been true especially in the choice of sites, layout, construction process, and building of palaces to houses or graves. It is broadly defined as *fengshui*, which can be traced back to *Zhou Li* (Ritual of Zhou dynasty). According to Joseph Needham, *fengshui* is "a feeling for cosmic pattern and the symbolism of the directions, seasons, winds and constellations".

⁵⁵ Chao Kung-tu. *Da Tianhou Gong zhi Yanjiu*, 1992: 45. Chao concludes five reasons for the unique orientation: first it is toward the Mainland China across the Taiwan strait, and represents the eagerness of return. Secondly, in case any battle happened, when the enemy came from the ocean, the King could be the first to bear the brunt of them. Third was the access of information by the sea. Fourthly, the topography was east high and west low, which created a hierarchy by locating the higher social status structures in the east. Finally it was near the seaport and was easier to transport materials from China, especially from Fujian.

⁵⁶ Li Dongyang, et al. (1586). *Da Ming Huidian* (Code of the great Ming dynasty). Hong Kong: Dongnan shubaoshe (reprint), 1963: 2485. According to *Ming Huidian* announced in 1460, chap. 181 states that the palaces of princes (Junwang) should consist of forty-six halls. In addition, every structure of each hall also had strict regulations.

⁵⁷ Liu Dunzhen. *Zhongguo gudai jianzhu shi* (History of ancient Chinese architecture). Taipei: Mingwen shuju, 1990: 87. Besides those Buddhist caves in Dunhuang, Yungang and other places, Chinese built also Buddhist monasteries and pagodas. Those Buddhist structures rather followed the Chinese architectural

halls match the uses of a temple. On the central axis, the entrance became *sanchuan dian* (Fig. 2.12)⁵⁸, *bai dian* (worship hall) was the front hall, the main hall was the parlor, and the rear chamber became the rear hall. Between each hall is a courtyard, which is sometimes enclosed by corridors (Fig. 2.13). However, as is the tradition for the temples in Quanzhou, the front of the halls is open. When Shi Lang converted the palace, he simply tore off the front walls of the halls, and placed altars in the center (Fig. 2.14).

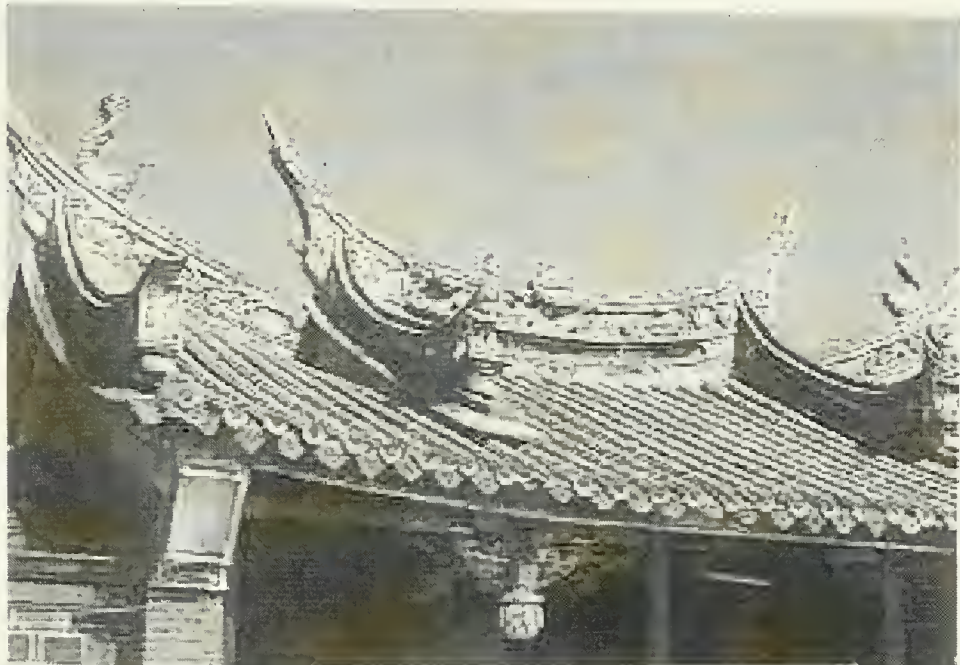


Fig. 2.12 The *sanchuan* roof style is usually found in the entrance hall (Lin Huei-cheng, 1990: 90)

traditions than the Indian ones. Converting houses into Buddhist monasteries has a long history in China since Buddhism was introduced to China in the second century.

⁵⁸ The *sanchuan* refers to the roof style, and is commonly seen in the entrance of temples. The central part of the roof ridge is raised so that the roof is divided into three parts. For details see Lin Huicheng, *Taiwan chuantong jianzhu shouce* (manual of traditional architecture in Taiwan), Taipei: Yishujia, 1990:91.

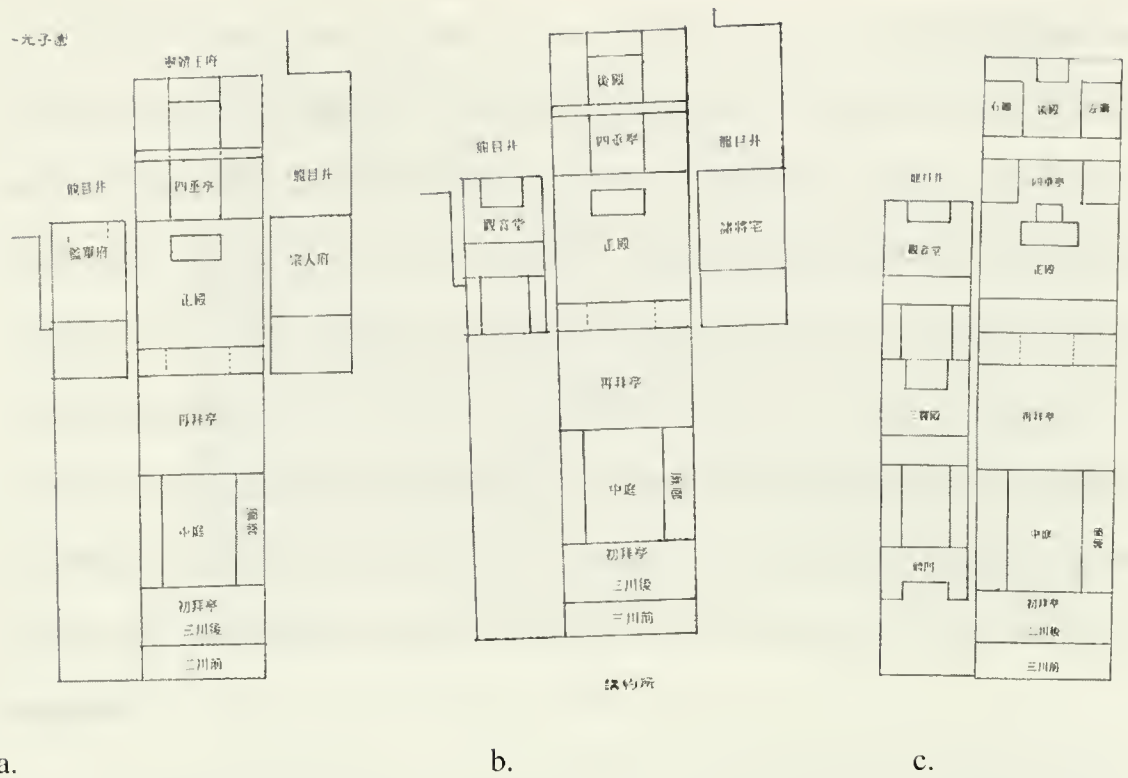


Fig. 2.13 Comparison of the layout of the Da Tianhou Gong: a. the palace, b. the Mazu temple converted by General Shi Lang c. the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong in the 1980 (Shih Wan-shou, 2000: 237, 243, 265)



Fig. 2.14 front view of Bai dian (worship hall) (Wang Rong-wen, 1994: 34)

The existing Tainan Da Tianhou Gong complex is about 300 meters in length and 150 meters in width (Fig. 2.15). After several interventions had been done, it is believed that the layout of the Da Tianhou Gong is similar to the original palace while the main structures are close to those restored in 1829. Different from the palace, there is a square “*cheng*” in front of the temple which functions for ceremony and the daily life of the neighborhood (Fig. 2.16), and a holy site of Mazu for people in Taiwan. For instance, in 1997, several Mazu temple committees in Taiwan organized another pilgrimage to China, and brought back another Mazu statue from Meizhou. The Tainan Da Tianhou Gong was the first stop of this great procession (Fig. 2.17). The *cheng* was so crowded as to be impassable.

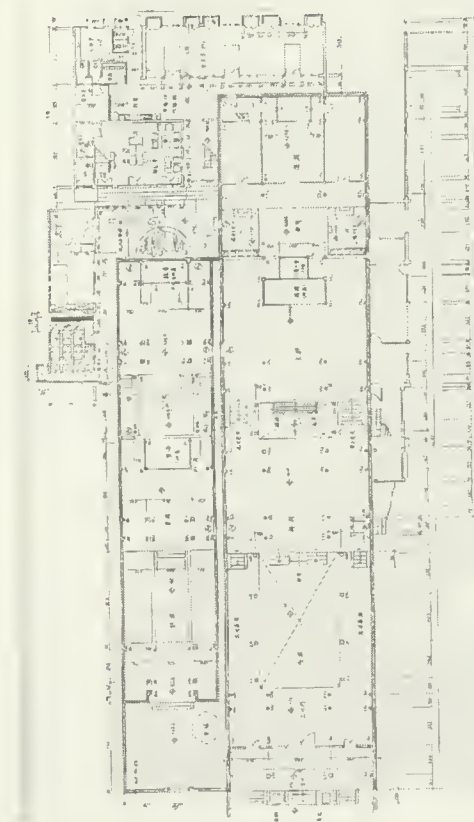


Fig. 2.15 Floor plan of the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong (Hsu Ming-fu, 1997: 66)



Fig. 2.16 Vendors and people gathered in the *cheng* (Chao Kung-tu, 1992: 145)



Fig. 2.17 The committee of Da Tianhou Gong greeted the statue of Mazu from Meizhou in 1997 (photographed by the author)

From a palace to the Mazu temple, the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong is considered a great witness of the history of Taiwan. With the richness of historic contents and architectural features, the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong was nominated as a national monument in 1985. After the examination of the experts, the Da Tianhou Gong was designated and registered as the first-class national monument by the Ministry of the Interior.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ From the website of the Tainan City government: <http://tour.tnccg.gov.tw/aa05.htm>

Chapter 3: The New Restoration Project

3.1 Documentation

As mentioned in the first chapter, entrusting university professors as chief managers for restoration projects of national cultural assets has been patterned after the project of Lin family's garden at Banqiao, Taipei County. Being the responsible institution for cultural assets, the Ministry of the Interior (MOI) entrusted the experienced expert Chao Kung-tu,¹ who was then a professor at National Taiwan University and Chinese Culture University, for the restoration project of the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong in 1986². Chao Kung-tu and his team, Bofeng Consulting Incorporated, started with written records, historic photos, site surveys, interviews, and scientific examinations. Shih Wan-shou, a history professor at Cheng-kung University in Tainan, cooperated with Chao Kung-tu on this documentation.³ More than a hundred workers and volunteers were involved in this project.⁴

The first challenge that Chao Kung-tu and his team faced was documentation. The Da Tianhou Gong had undergone many changes since its original structure. However, the exact nature and outcome of these changes were very difficult to trace.⁵ By the time the

¹ Before the restoration of the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong, Chao Kung-tu had completed the restoration of Yusanguan at Yongjing, Zhanghua County (1985-1993) and the research of Wenci (Confucius shrine) at Dajia, Taizhong (1983-1988).

² According to the memoir of Chao Kung-tu, he was actually invited by the chairman of the Da Tianhou Gong Committee. Interviewed and recorded by the author in 1996.

³ Shih Wan-shou later published his research on Mazu.

⁴ Chao Kung-tu. 1992: 464.

⁵ Chao Kung-tu. 2000: 5. The difficulty of documentation was acknowledged. "Historic preservation, first of all, has to emphasize the research of its history. The contents of the research have to stress on the investigation in the earlier periods and the budgets, which were ignored in many documentation works....

restoration began, the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong has been severely damaged by fires and earthquakes, and had undergone several partial restorations.⁶ In Chinese traditions, the best way to honor or to show gratitude to one's own family or to the gods is to enlarge or to contribute to his ancestral house or the temple.⁷ Therefore, stone carvings, dragon columns (Fig. 3.1),⁸ wall paintings and so on were gradually added over the years, but sometimes without leaving any record or craftsmen's signatures.



Fig. 3.1 One of the dragon columns in the Sanchuan Hall (photographed by the author)

From our study, the buildings were maintained every three to five years, every ten to fifteen years need to have an inspection, and twenty-five to thirty years would require a restoration.”

⁶ According to the temple steles, the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong was partially restored during 1740-1765; in 1818, the temple was severely damaged by a fire, and was rebuilt three times after the fire. In 1939, Xinhua earthquake destroyed part of the structures; from 1960 there were continuous changes in detail by the public donation. In 1990, it was nominated and recognized as National Heritage, and is under restoration at this moment. In fact, its architectural authenticity was questioned as early as in the process of designation for one of the National Cultural Assets.

⁷ Tuotuo (1313-1355). *Song Shi* (The history of the Song dynasty). Vol. 109: Zhi 62. Beijing : Zhonghua shu ju, 1997. The practice of erecting family shrine began from the Zhou dynasty (1027-256 B.C.). Later, the obligation of a noble was extended from family shrine to local temples.

⁸ Two stone columns delicately carved with dragons have replaced two wooden octagonal columns in the Sanchuan Hall in 1952-53.

In addition, the geographic and topological environment of the Da Tianhou Gong has changed significantly over the three hundred years. The Da Tianhou Gong was once surrounded by farms, but now these farms have been replaced by buildings. Due to mud sedimentation of the river, the Da Tianhou Gong is no longer on the coast. This sediment has built up over the years, covering over previously open land and buildings. The water-sediment cover has made it difficult to identify some of the earliest structures of the palace compound and its neighborhood. However, according to the historic records⁹ and an excavation of this project,¹⁰ the current layout of the temple is believed to be the original.

During the six years of research, Chao Kung-tu tried to identify most of the structures as well as their components.¹¹ The local gazetteers of Tainan¹² and the inscriptions on the temple steles¹³ provide most of the information about the additions and restorations (Fig.3.2). However, these records are incomplete.

⁹ See the local gazetteers of Tainan county and history of Taiwan in the Qing dynasty.

¹⁰ An excavation around the main hall and Guanyin hall was requested by Chao Kung-tu in October, 1996. The architect, the C.E.O of the Qingren Construction Company and the government representatives found the earliest floors.

¹¹ See the table of chronology of the Da Tianhou Gong in Chao Kung-tu, 1992: 107-112.

¹² Including *Taiwan Sheng Zhi*, *Taiwan Xian Zhi*, and Gao Gongqian. *Taiwan Fu Zhi*. Taipei: Fangshi shengsitang, 1956. Jiang Yuying. *Taiwan fuzhi*. Beijing: Zhonghua, 1985.

¹³ All the existing temple inscriptions are collected in Chao Kung-tu. *Diyiji guji sidian Da Tianhou Gong wenwu yanjiu congkan*, Tainan: the Da Tianhou Gong guanli weiyuanhui, 1996.

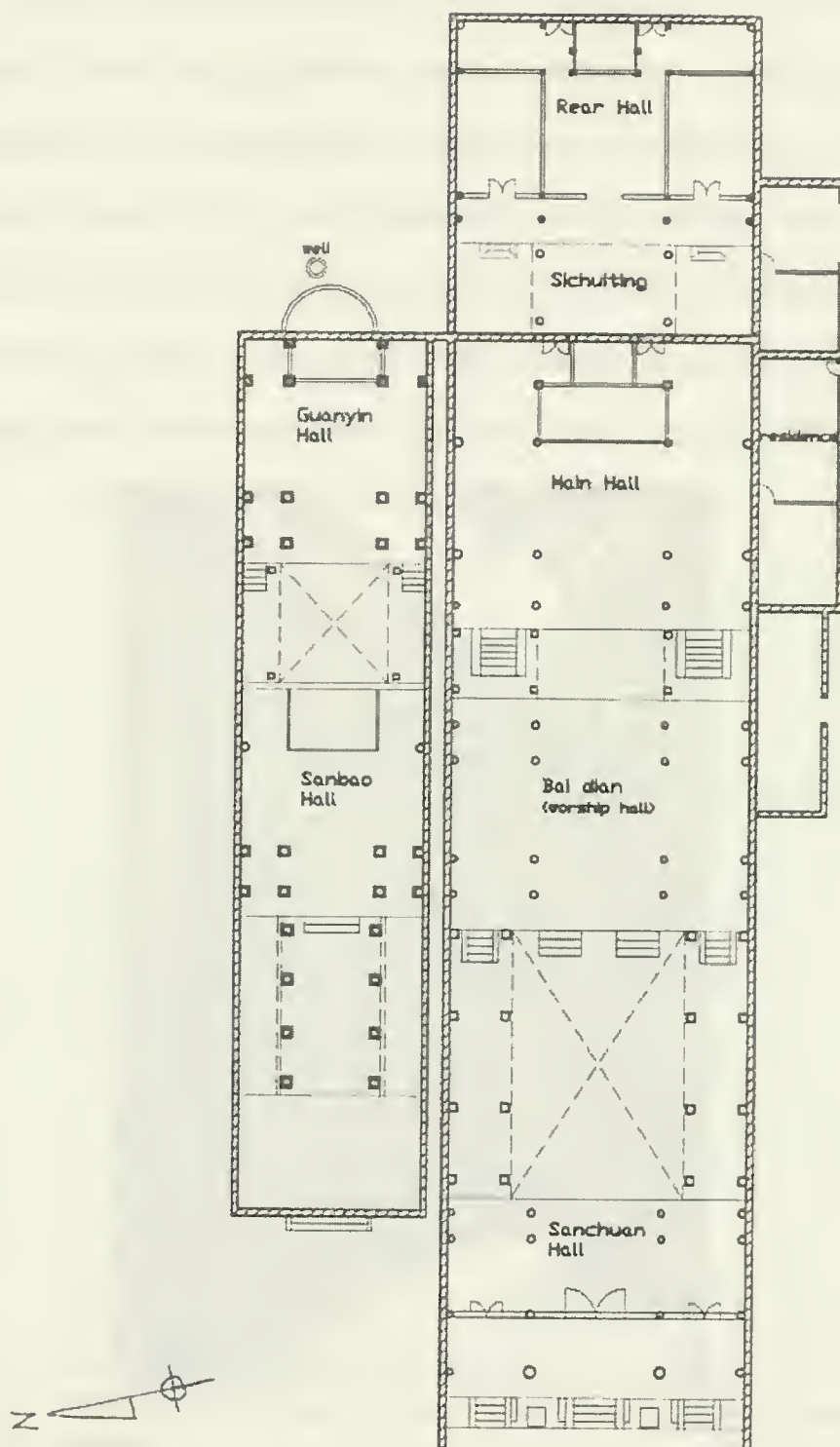


Fig. 3.2 Illustration of each hall in 1992 before the restoration (drawn by the author after modifying the construction drawing)

When Shi Lang tore down the southern building *Zongrenfu* in 1682, he built some temporary shelters for some soldier guardians on the same site. These huts were later occupied by the local people, and were rebuilt into brick houses (Fig. 3.3).¹⁴ In addition, Shi Lang converted the only hall *Jianjunfu* for Army Inspecting Censor on the northern side into the Guanyin Hall, which is dedicated to bodhisattva Guanyin. The two halls on the northern complex in front of the Guanyin Hall were the office and the *gengyiting* (changing room), which were built by Magistrate Jiang Yunxun in 1768.¹⁵



Fig. 3.3 View of the Da Tianhou Gong and the adjoining houses (photographed by the author)

¹⁴ Chao Kung-tu, 1992: 38.

¹⁵ The stele is preserved in the Da Tianhou Gong. For the original inscription see Chao Kung-tu 1996: 86. The office is now Sanbao Hall, which enshrines the god Sanbao, and the *gengyiting* is now entrance hall of the northern complex.

As mentioned in the previous chapter, the illustration in Jiang Yuanshu's *Chongxiu Taijun ge jianzhu tushuo* was the only historical record of the architecture of the temple. From Jiang's drawing, we learned that there were four halls in the central complex. What is now the worship hall (the second hall from the front) was the main hall, and the current main hall was the rear hall (see Fig. 2-11). A performance stage¹⁶ was built at that time. The present stage, however, is made of concrete, and therefore cannot be Jiang's work because concrete was not an available material at that time. Jiang's drawing was done before the big fire in 1818. When compared with the local gazetteers and inscriptions on the steles, the restoration in the 1820s was outlined by a similar plan as that of before the 1818 fire. After the structural examination, the Guanyin Hall on the northern complex preserved more old materials, which had probably survived from the fire while the four halls on the central complex were completely damaged. Chao believes that a well behind the Guanyin Hall provided an easy access to water. Chao also identified the other well in one of the houses, which were built on the same site of the southern complex.¹⁷

3.2 Design

Structure

To check the condition without damaging the structure, non-destructive tests including visual inspection, acoustic emission and radiographic inspection were applied

¹⁶ Wang An-chi. *Mingdai chuanqi zhi juchang ji qi yishu* (Drama theaters and their arts in the Ming dynasty). Taipei: Xuesheng shuju, 1986: 130-145. It was a tradition of Chinese religious buildings with a stage in front to hold performances to entertain the gods or goddess. On special occasions, such as festivals of the year or of the temple, people gathered in the *cheng* (plaza in front of the temple) to watch the shows, which were dedicated to the god or the goddess.

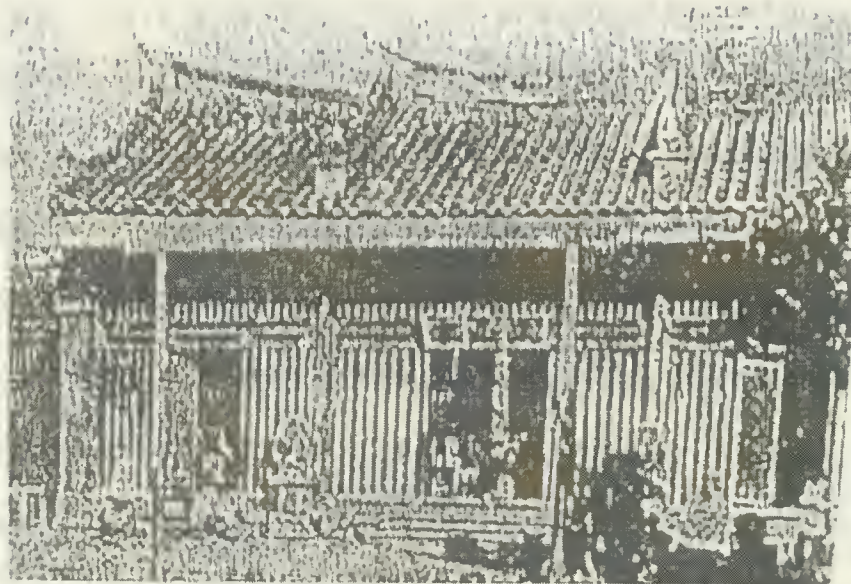
during the investigation. Accordingly, the structural components were categorized by the degree of damage. While there was a strong preference for repairing, some components still required replacement. Other structures, especially the later interventions were considered for removal. For example, there were some changes made in the Sanchuan Hall (Fig. 3.4). A senior committee member of the Da Tianhou Gong recalled that a local carpenter Tsai Ting-shan renewed the roof of the Sanchuan Hall (entrance hall) in 1960. A historical photo from the Japanese occupation period reconfirms the rebuild (Fig. 3.5).¹⁸ As a matter of fact, the second tier of the roof (so called pseudo-*sichui* roof) had weakened the original structure.



Fig. 3.4 Sanchuan Hall of the Da Tianhou Gong showing the pseudo-*sichui* roof (the second tier of roof) (photographed by the author)

¹⁷ Chao Kung-tu. 2000: 4.

¹⁸ Chao Kung-tu. 1992: 119-120. Kuo Kuo-chung, who lived nearby, provided the photo.



a.



b.

Fig. 3.5 Historic photos of the Da Tianhou Gong showing the two ridges on the roof without the second tier: a. from the Qing dynasty b. from the Japanese occupation period (Chao Kung-tu, 1992: 145)

Through examining the structure, Chao Kung-tu also found the problem of the *Sichuiting* (four ridges pavilion), which connects the main hall and the rear hall. He believed that the *Sichuiting* should have been *Sizhuting*, meaning the four pillars pavilion. The existing *Sichuiting* did not have any pillars; instead, its roof structure was jointed with the beams of the main hall and the rear hall, to which the load of the roof of the *Sichuiting* is transferred. Without the four pillars, the pavilion appears more spacious. However, the wooden joints were severely damaged. Chao believes that the four pillars were part of the original design, but were taken off later. Considering the safety of the entire structure,¹⁹ Chao suggested restoring the four pillars (Fig. 3.6).



Fig. 3.6 Four pillars rebuilt in the *Sichuiting* (four-ridge pavilion) (photographed by the author)

¹⁹ See table 1- construction time line. Chao invited construction engineer Lee Chu-yao to examine the structure of the pavilion in Jan. 24, 1997.

A big discovery made during the structural survey was the original accesses between the central complex and the side complexes. The halls on the central complex and the northern complex do not share walls. There is a small alley less than a meter in width between the two complexes. By the time the restoration took place, there was an octagonal granite-plastered door between the courtyard in front of the main hall and that of the Guanyin hall. After studying the illustration of Jiang Yuanshu and examining the walls, Chao Kung-tu determined three original accesses: circular openings to the courtyards of the worship hall and the Sanbao Hall, octagonal brick openings between the courtyards of the main hall and the Guanyin Hall, and small arch openings connecting the main hall and the Guanyin Hall (Fig. 3.7).²⁰

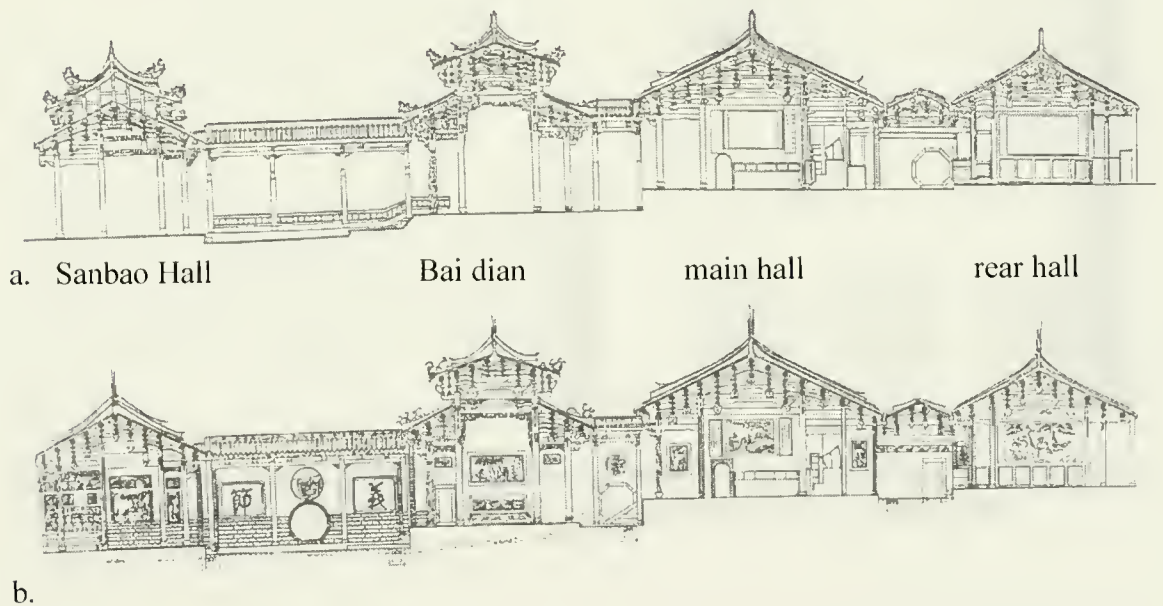


Fig. 3.7 Elevations showing three accesses between the central complex and the western complex: a. before the restoration b. after documentation and inspection of the site (Chao Kung-tu, 1992: 200, 357)

²⁰ Chao Kung-tu, 1992: 123-131. also see Chao Kung-tu, 2000: 48-49.

Design principles

After researching the temple, Chao Kung-tu raised some issues on the restoration of the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong. These issues were laid out in a restoration manual.²¹ Based on the idea of “restoring as close to the original as possible while respecting the current condition”, Chao summarized several principles.²² He emphasized using original materials unless it is not reusable; specifically some of the wooden components can be repaired according to Chinese architectural traditions (Fig. 3.8).²³ How to draw the line between the original and the respected additions became an issue, which will be discussed in the next chapter.

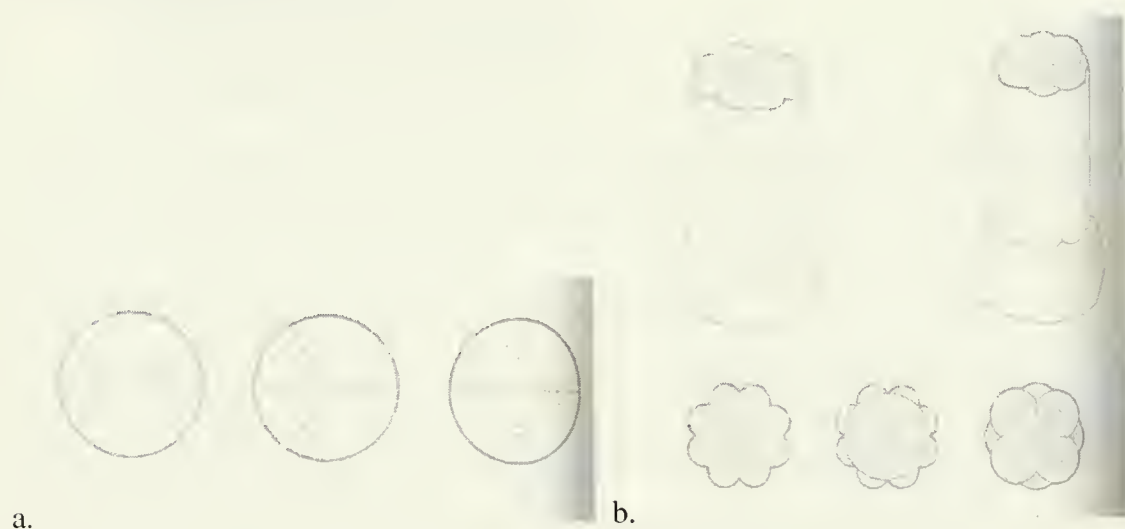


Fig. 3.8 a. Illustration of jointed wooden columns in Chinese tradition b. examples in Baoguoji monastery in Ningbo, China (Zhang Yuhuan, 1986: 158)

²¹ The committee summoned by the MOI approved the manual in 1994.

²² Chao Kung-tu, 1992: 339.

²³ Zhang Yuhuan (ed.), *History and Development of Ancient Chinese Architecture*. Beijing: Beijing Science Press, 1986: 131. Also see Du Xianzhou, *Zhongguo gujianzhu xiushan jishu*. Taipei, Taiwan, 1984.

He also emphasized that one should choose a similar replacement when applying a new material. For instance, the original pillars were hemlocks from Fujian, China, which were difficult to access at the time of restoration; therefore, other timbers with similar quality could be considered. As for those inappropriate additions such as the pseudo-*sichui* roof of the Sanchuan Hall and most of the floorings, Chao proposed to rehabilitate them.²⁴ Chao also proposed and described in detail about the traditional techniques including recipes for mortar, colors of paints, and so on.²⁵

Another design issue was the southern walls, which are shared with some residential houses. The party walls suffered from the earthquake in 1939, and have been gradually leaning (Fig. 3.9).²⁶

²⁴ Chao Kung-tu. 1992: 116-117. Chao suggested reusing the pseudo-*sichui* roof to replace that of the performance stage. His proposal of restoring the floor pavements was denied by the committee organized by the MOI.

²⁵ For this project, Chao Kung-tu wrote a construction manual including the principles, construction shelter, mortar, brick, stone, wood, application of Polyethylene glycol (PEG), and scales of materials. It was approved by the Ministry of the Interior, and used to call for vendors.

²⁶ Chao Kung-tu. 120. The top of walls has been leaning about 16 to 19 cm to the east by the time the site survey took place in 1992.

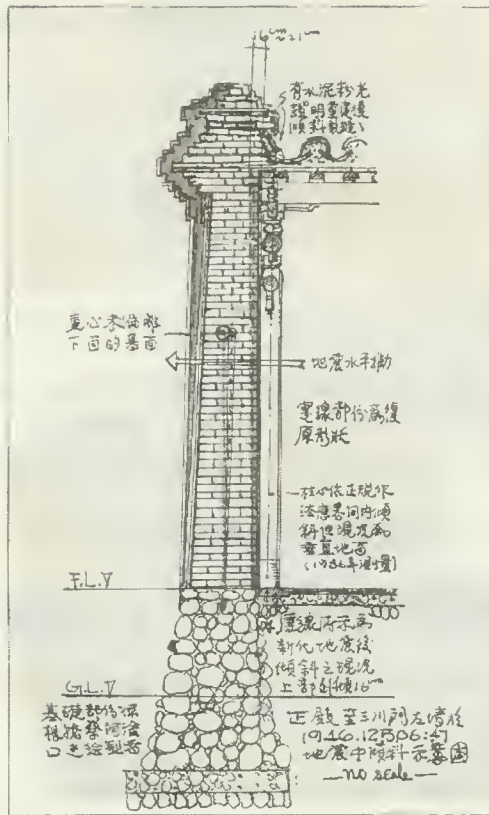


Fig. 3.9 The southern walls, which are shared with some residences, were leaning about 17 cm (Chao Kung-tu, 1992: 103)

For safety purposes, Chao Kung-tu planned to remove those houses, and to rebuild *Zongrenfu*, which was demolished by General Shi Lang. Alternatively, Chao planned to build a museum in that space. The scholars and those occupants of the houses, who agreed to move when they received compensation, accepted this proposal. However, this agreement was never legalized and without a basis in law, this proposal was rejected by the temple restoration committee.²⁷

²⁷ Those house owners agreed to move out only when the government compensated their loss. It made this issue even more difficult. The Cultural Assets Preservation Law can only appropriate money to those private properties, which are designated as cultural assets.

3.3 Construction Work

Budget

The original proposal of the entire restoration project planned to start from the northern complex (including the front hall, Sanbao Hall and Guanyin Hall) and then finish the main complex (the front hall, the worship hall, the main hall and the rear hall). The total proposed budget (including the design fee) was 288,530,000 NTD (about 8,243,000 dollars).²⁸ Due to the limit of governmental budget for the cultural assets,²⁹ the construction work was divided into two phases.

The first phase, including the Guanyin hall and its courtyard, the main hall and its courtyard, and the rear hall with the four-pillar pavilion in between, finally called for vendors in 1995. The Taizhong City-based Qingren Construction Company got the bid. Considering the limited time and budget, the Qingren Construction Company cooperated with the local Qingyang Construction Company. This had been their business pattern for many years and other joint projects included the restoration of the Chikan lou and Sanshan Guowang Temple (temple of the king of the three mountains). The final budget for the entire restoration was only one-fourth of the original proposed budget.³⁰ The

²⁸ Chao Kung-tu. 1991: 338.

²⁹ Article 37 to Article 57 in the Cultural Assets Preservation Law only have credits and fund for historic structure or site.

³⁰ Chao Kung-tu. 2000: 402. 68,560,000 NTD (about 1,958,000 dollars), and later increased to 85,117,715.23 NTD (about 2,431,900 dollars) after the change of order.

construction work was contracted with Qingren Construction Company in April 1995, and work officially began on June 15, 1995.³¹

I participated in this first phase of the project as Superintendent for the Architect during the process of “change of order” in 1996. The second phase for the rest of the structures, however, was not continued by Chao Kung-tu but by another architect, Lee Chong-yao, in 1999. The following sections will discuss how the construction of the first phase was done and what conflicts occurred in this project.

Construction Scaffolding

The first task of the construction company was to build scaffolding, which resulted in the first argument between the architect and the construction company. There were at least thirteen official documents about the scaffolding. On August 9th, 1995, two months after construction began, Chao Kung-tu, questioned the safety and efficiency of the scaffolding that the construction company built (Appendix 2). For instance, the highest point of the scaffolding was only ten centimeters from the ridge of the roof (Fig. 3.10). Therefore, when repairing the ridge timber and its decoration, the limited clearance would make them difficult to remove³². To save money, part of the scaffolding was from the previous projects of the construction company. This reused scaffolding, however, did not match the original plan, but a note in the contract states that the scaffolding designed by the architect is only a reference. Convincing the construction company that rebuilding

³¹ Chao Kung-tu, 2000: 28.

the scaffolding was necessary became difficult for the architect. To keep the construction going, the central government and the Tainan city government were on the construction company's side. Because of this strong government pressure, the architect agreed to continue the construction, but only after the Qingren Construction Company agreed to take the responsibility.

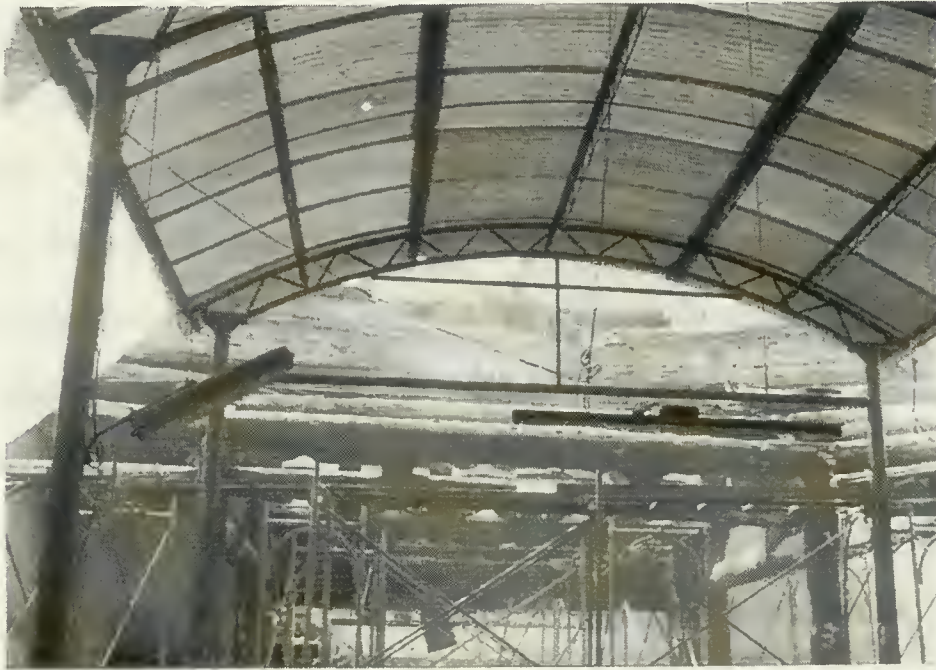


Fig. 3.10 The scaffolding during restoration showing the limited space between the roof of scaffolding and that of the main hall (photo provided by Chao Kung-tu)

Materials

The problem of scaffolding was finally resolved, but another issue regarding materials came in quick succession. Like the other Chinese architecture from the Ming and the Qing dynasties, the Da Tianhou Gong is a timber-structure building. Because of

³² Chao Kung-tu. 2000: 40.

the high humidity in Taiwan, rotting timber is always a problem. The structure was basically from the early nineteenth century regardless of the constant repairs. Therefore, many timbers had been rotten by the time of the restoration. Although the principle was to “retain as original as possible”, some replacement was unavoidable. As a matter of fact, to find compatible replacement timbers was a big issue. The original materials were directly from Quanzhou city in Fujian province, China. Because of the political tension between China and Taiwan, to import materials from China was still illegal during this restoration project. In fact, even if the import was legal, the availability of the Fujian hemlocks was questionable. Before the construction work began, the construction company had purchased some timbers, which turned out to be unusable.³³ Differences on how to resolve this issue between the architect Chao and the construction company slowed down the project. Chao insisted on using Fujian hemlocks (or very similar wood) to replace the original wooden columns, while the constructor and the chief carpenter preferred Japanese Cypress, a more available wood of equally high quality.³⁴ To push forward the project, the Tainan city government was involved to convince the architect.

Not only the wooden materials, but the availability of other materials such as stones and bricks also were problems. After years of negotiation with the government, Chao finally had the stone balustrade of the Guanyin Hall made in China. According to the archaeological evidence found from the pavement around the altar of the main hall,

³³ Chao Kung-tu. 2000: 13. Those timbers were purchased to replace the columns in the main hall. Because of the quality, the heartwood (usable material) of those 3-foot diameter timbers is less than half. In addition, most of the timbers were from the second growth with many knots. Therefore, those timbers could not meet the criteria.

³⁴ The chief carpenter Wu Ching-po once complained to the author about the architect Chao. Wu thought it was very nice of the construction company to use mahogany, which Wu considered the best wooden materials. In fact, before working for restoration project, Wu mainly worked for modern interior design.

and the historic records of the Forbidden City, the architect Chao Kung-tu believed that the size of the pavement tiles of the main hall should be 46 cm by 46 cm, and 4.2 cm thick.³⁵ It was difficult to find tiles of this size in Taiwan because of technical issues.³⁶ To this end, the 41×41×3.5 cm tiles were applied.

Wall paintings

The paintings in the Da Tianhou Gong, including the frescoes and paintings on wood, were mostly done in the second half of the twentieth century.³⁷ As mentioned earlier in Chapter I, Taiwan experienced a local cultural revival in the Nineties. Those traditional craftsmen have been highly respected since then. Among them, the wall painting masters and their works received great attention. Two masters active in Tainan area, Pan Li-shui and Chen Yu-feng, have been particularly studied.³⁸ They both were active in the Tainan region, and their apprentices are still involved in many temple projects. The wall paintings done by these two masters in the Tainan Da Tianhou Gong are considered some of their masterpieces. A Masters thesis by Su Lin-hsiang examined

³⁵ Chao-Kung-tu. 1991: 121.

³⁶ The author joined a business trip to Tainan County and Jiayi County to examine the tiles and timbers in 1996. According to Mr. Hsu, the owner of the best tile factory in Taiwan, the success rate of manufacturing 46×46×4.2 cm tiles was lower than 20%. Even for the 41×41×3.5 cm tiles, only half of them had no cracks.

³⁷ Chao Kung-tu. 1992: 282-283.

³⁸ Lee I-hsing. *Taiwan Chuantong Caihui* (The Traditional Architecture Color Painting in Taiwan). Taipei: Yishujia, 1995: 66-72. The craftsmen were mainly from Fujian, China, and were active in Taiwan depended on where they settled. Pan Chun-yuan and Chen Yu-feng learned from the same master, and were both active in Tainan area. Pan Chun-yuan's son, Pan Li-shui, who was famous for his paintings of door guards, has been carefully studied. For the detail study for Pan Li-shui, see Hsu, Chi-kuan. *Pan Lishui Simiao Menshen Huazuo zhi Yanjiu* (The Study of the Door-guards Paintings of Pan, Li-shui in Temples). Thesis (MA): National Cheng-kung University, Tainan, Taiwan, 1997.

wall paintings of several important temples including those of the Da Tianhou Gong.³⁹ Her analyses provided a reference for the chemical information for restoring. As discussed in the previous section, the architect Chao Kung-tu emphasized, “to restore to the original”. To this end, he not only recommended modern technology on documentation and material analysis but also preferred the traditional methods of preserving paintings.⁴⁰ On the other hand, he allowed repainting but only by the experienced painters such as Chen Shou-l (Chen Yu-feng’s son) and Ting Ching-shih, who has had several projects in the Da Tianhou Gong in 1980.⁴¹

To this end, two different approaches were finally adopted in the restoration, repainting and conservation. Ting Ching-shih, who still practices in the Tainan area, was involved in the preservation of wall paintings including some of his earlier works. After tracing the paintings, he repainted them (Fig. 3.11). Chen Pei-yu, who learned painting conservation from Paris, was also invited.⁴² Unlike Ting Ching-shih, Chen Pei-yu’s approach was conserving rather than repainting (Fig. 3.12). She encountered two different sources of damages, high humidity for the frescoes, and the incense smokes for the paintings on wood. For both types of paintings, she cleaned them first, then filled up

³⁹ Su, Lin-hsiang. *Taiwan Chuantong Jianzhu Caihua Cesai zhi Chubu Yanjiu* (A Study on the Color and Painting System of Traditional Architecture in Taiwan). Thesis (MA): National Cheng-kung University, 1986.

⁴⁰ Chao Kung-tu. 1992: 293-305. Chao mentioned the modern techniques including SEM, IR, etc. to analyze the chemical components; in addition, he also applied traditional methods to consolidate the support, which includes linen, paper fiber, and sand. For the details of traditional methods, see Du, Xianzhou. *Zhongguo gujianzhu xiushan jishu* (Chinese Traditional Architecture Restoration Techniques). Taipei, Taiwan, 1984.

⁴¹ Chao Kung-tu. 1992: 118.

⁴² Chao Kung-tu. 2000: 360, 373-4.

the depressions, and finally colored the fill-up.⁴³ Because of the complicated process, she could only finish part of the project in the limited workdays.⁴⁴

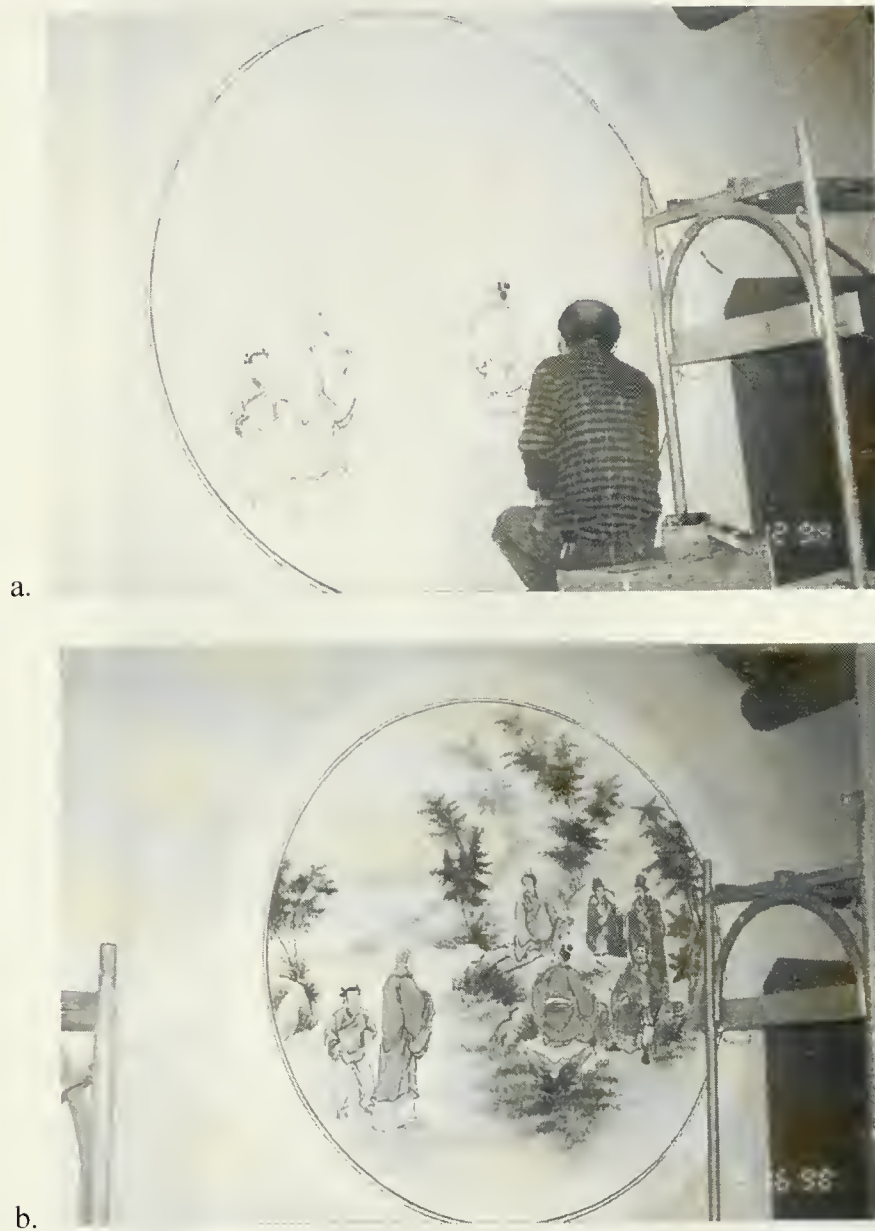


Fig. 3.11 a. Ting Ching-shih was repainting one of his earlier wall paintings in the Guanyin Hall b. the finished wall painting (photos provided by Chao Kung-tu)

⁴³ Ibid.

⁴⁴ Chao Kung-tu. 2000: 373. Chen Pei-yu's works include wall paintings on the main hall and its corridor, and some wooden components in the main hall and Guanyin Hall.



a.



b.

Fig. 3.12 a. one of the wall paintings done by Chen Yu-feng before the restoration b. Chen Pei-yu was matching the color after cleaning it (photos provided by Chao Kung-tu)

Workdays

The Mayor of Tainan decided to shorten the 700-day construction period (including holidays and Sundays) to 380 workdays. The central government (MOI) neither was informed nor did they supervise the construction.⁴⁵ However, the contractor could not finish the restoration by the unreasonable date. The final solution was to not count the hundred plus that accrued during the process of change of order.

This shortening of project time is just one of example of how the government handled the restoration projects. Their main concern was the pressure from the governmental budget and the city Congress. The local government wanted the projects to be finished before the next election.⁴⁶ Therefore, restoration works such as the wall paintings were rushed. When there was an argument between the architect and the construction company, in most of the cases, the government was in favor of the latter because the local construction company has a closer relationship with the government.

The Emergent Construction

Taiwan is in the earthquake-affected region in the Pacific Ocean. In addition, hurricanes visit Taiwan annually. The entire temple had already been damaged over the years by earthquakes and storms. The entrance hall in the northern complex even

⁴⁵ Chao Kung-tu. 2000: 17

⁴⁶ The documentation work took six years, and the construction work took three more years. The manager of Qingyang Construction Company told me that the Mayor of Tainan had big pressure from the Congress, who questioned the delay of the restoration. The Mayor hoped to have all the restoration projects done before he left his public office.

collapsed twice, once in 1995 and once in 1997 after heavy rain showers. This entrance hall, which was built as a change room in 1767,⁴⁷ was originally scheduled to be restored during the second phase of reconstruction. Considering that most of the wooden components were rotten, after the second collapse, the MOI decided to appropriate for the emergency restoration. At that time, the first phase of construction was still ongoing; therefore, Chao Kun-tu was also entrusted to complete the hall. Because of the dangers of the structure, there were only five days for the documentation of the situation. Three months after the second collapse, the Qingren Construction Company got the bid, and again cooperated with the local Qingyang Construction Company.

Completion of Construction

From the first day this project began to the day of completion, there were constant arguments among the architect, the construction company, the government or the temple committee. From budget, design, construction scaffolding, uses of materials, workers,⁴⁸ workdays, and so on, there was always disagreement. The construction of the first phase was completed on August 13, 1998, and four months later, the Sanbao Hall was also finished.⁴⁹ The conflicts between the architect, the construction company and the government finally drew to a conclusion. In the next chapter, I would like to reexamine what I learned and found from this project.

⁴⁷ See Chapter II.

⁴⁸ In the three years during this construction, the supervisors from the architect changed four times and those from the construction company changed three times.

⁴⁹ After completing the restoration of the Sanbao Hall, Chao complained a lot about the shortage of the budget, and the irresponsible and inexperienced officials.

Chapter 4: Evaluation of the Restoration Project

As the previous chapters reveal, the restoration in the Da Tianhou Gong was based on a preservation movement, which consequently legislated some historic buildings as national monuments in Taiwan. These national monuments are receiving the government's support. Unlike in the United States, tax credits have little appeal to the Taiwanese because of the much higher real estate value;¹ therefore direct government grants are still the most important source of funding for these kinds of restoration projects. Now that the government is involved in preservation, we need to evaluate its impact. Since money is no longer an issue, we need to know if there are professionals able to take charge of these kinds of projects. The restoration of the Da Tianhou Gong is used as an example to evaluate the development of historic preservation in Taiwan after this legislation.

4.1 Was it a successful project?

I feel it is important to ask whether the restoration of the Da Tianhou Gong was a successful project. While I participated in the restoration project, I noticed that the conflicts mostly resulted from the different views and requirements among those related

¹ Tu Ping-tzu, *Fazhanquan zhuan yi dui dushi guji baocun kexingxing yanjiu* (Transferring development rights for historic preservation). Council for Cultural Affairs of Executive Yuan, 1993, 152-166. For instance, in the case of the houses on the Dihua Street, according to the real estate market in 1990s, each building was worth of about 3.2 million dollars if it was rebuilt as multiple storied building.

people involved in the project. At that time, I did not see the crux of the problem; therefore, I started looking for an answer from foreign experiences. There are many theories on how to make preservation projects successful. I would like to apply Stoddard's experience on success in the case study of the Grand Opera House as a template to evaluate the restoration of the Da Tianhou Gong.²

As discussed in Chapter 2, the Da Tianhou Gong is a historic building with a significant use. Its conversion into a temple of Mazu, the most popular goddess in Taiwan, has kept the building alive. People from all over Taiwan come to worship. To attract more worshippers, the temple organization recently began to arrange pilgrimage trips to the earlier Mazu temples in Fujian, China. In general, people can tour traditional buildings as long as they are not private property. The Taiwanese public supports the idea of preserving the national cultural assets. The public can appreciate a temple with traditional Chinese architecture features, however privately owned buildings with different uses are often renewed to modern architecture. For example, a tour of historic Tainan city hosted by the Council for Cultural Affairs (CCA) in 1996 had a great response from the audience. That tour included the Da Tianhou Gong, other temples, fortresses, and so on. However, the public usually cannot judge the quality of preservation. Therefore, it is very important to have pragmatists who share both a vision and a desire to make preservation realized; meanwhile making sure it is well executed. In the case of the Da Tianhou Gong, the key persons for realizing this goal are the

² Stoddard, Robert. *A Grand Strategy: the Scenario for Saving the Grand Opera House*. Washington D.C.: The Preservation Press, 1978: 33.

government, the temple restoration committee, the architect, the construction company, conservators and craftsmen.

A successful restoration would consider the feasibility of a project as early as the planning stage, and then propose a realistic plan and schedule. This important step was missing from this project. Part of the design of the architect Chao Kung-tu was either rejected by the temple restoration committee, or rejected by the government. For instance, although he had difficulties with his proposal of reconstructing the southern complex, he never stopped trying to convince the government or common audience. Because of my personal connection with the project, I was able to hear the architect's points of view. Even with this information, I did not understand why the committee members, who are either architectural historians or preservationists, disagreed with him in many cases. According to Chao Kung-tu, one of the comments that he received from the committee was that he was too idealistic. I wonder if perhaps his design was somewhat unrealistic. His insistence on scaffolding³ and materials resulted in a difficult work relationship with the construction company.

In the previous chapter, I also mentioned the problem of the shortened construction schedule. This problem raised another issue: it is possible that the government has poor intent for preservation or questionable methods. The reality is that preservation in Taiwan is a political strategy. The involvement of the government in preservation is a façade to win favor by showing support for culture and history. To this

³ Weaver, Martin E and Frank G. Matero. *Conserving Buildings: Guide to Techniques and Materials*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1997: 6. Although it is very expensive, scaffolding undoubtedly provides the most secure and satisfactory means of carrying out an investigation. However, it must be properly designed

end, every completion of a restoration project is credited to the Mayor, who has to be reelected every four years. From this aspect, Chao probably failed to take the political situation in consideration. The restoration of national monuments in other countries often takes years for research, and then many years for restoration. The quality of the fast restoration projects in Taiwan is questionable.

The difficulty of this restoration lies in the miscommunication of the architect between the construction company, the government and the temple organization. As a result, credibility and trust was never established between the four parties. In addition, restoration programs are often managed by non-professionals. In Taiwan, people who manage preservation as governmental agents are never preservation professionals. Because of the pressure of the official functions, those agents are concerned with the deadline of the projects rather than the quality of the projects. In the case of the Da Tianhou Gong, neither the architect Chao Kung-tu nor his team was good at management. When I look back, I believe that the project would have been much more smoothly executed if there were a good manager- someone who had knowledge of preservation and of management, and was good at communication handling the project.

After years of efforts, preservation finally became a policy priority, but are there enough professionals to restore the buildings? The public, without enough knowledge about preservation, often has a wrong impression that those involved in preservation are professionals. As far as I am concerned, the availability of quality professionals, including conservation architects, architectural conservators, and conservation craftsmen, is the

for the job to give safe and close access to all surfaces without the surveyor having to lean out or swing

most important issue of preservation in Taiwan. The conservation architects are mostly architectural professors. However, this doesn't ensure that they have a knowledge and understanding of early building technology nor are able to identify the original fabric versus later additions, and interpret their findings to clients.⁴ On the contrary, the architectural conservator generally is not involved firsthand in the planning, execution, or review of the proposed intervention. In Taiwan, the availability of the architectural conservators is low so that preservation projects often take place without a professional conservator on the team.

The traditional crafts such as carpentry, masonry, carving, and wall paintings all face the problem of discontinuity. Good workmanship comes from proper training, continuity of work, public appreciation and respect for the status of the craftsman. However, in the restoration of the Da Tianhou Gong, as well as other restoration projects in Taiwan, there were many temporary workers involved. In general, the craftsmen's training today has accustomed them to only building a new wall, plastering a wall anew, carpentering a new roof frame, retiling a roof, making new floors, new windows and new doors, and so on. The discontinuation of traditional crafts is a severe issue.

In addition to the professionals, useful tools are equally important. Some modern techniques such as radiography for the timbers, and SEM (scanning electron microscope) for painting pigments were applied as well as the traditional methods of inspection. For most conservation projects, several different treatments were used. For instance, both

dangerously from stages which are just too far away from the surface to be inspected.

⁴ Frank G. Matero. "The Conservation of Immovable Cultural Property: Ethical and Practical Dilemmas", *Journal of American Institute for Conservation*. 32 (1993): 18. This is not a Taiwanese phenomenon.

conservation and reduplication were applied for the paintings. The involvement of the conservator, Chen Pei-yu, and other experienced craft masters was a good beginning. Their experiences from this project should be transferred and applied to the future projects.

Article 4 of the Venice Charter states, "It is essential to the conservation of monuments that they be maintained on a permanent basis."⁵ Maintenance will take care of itself in conjunction with the appropriate use of a historic building. In contrast to normal building maintenance, maintenance of historic buildings must always take into account the fabric preservation, as well as the unique character of a site. A well-defined maintenance plan should be clearly established in order to prepare for an appropriate level of maintenance and care upon restoration completion.⁶ As a temple with a number of worshippers, the Da Tianhou Gong should have no problem appropriating money for maintenance and future operation, especially compared to private residential houses. However, the architect neither made a maintenance plan, nor did people pay attention to this issue. The Da Tianhou Gong was not the only restoration project ignoring this issue. In Taiwan, there is no specific policy regarding those designated historic buildings after the restoration is done.

Architects trained as modern designers often have little of the technical or theoretical information necessary to understand the design, technology, and behavior of traditional materials and structures.

⁵ ICOMOS Charters and Other International Doctrinal Documents, *US/ ICOMOS Scientific Journal* Vol. 1 no. 1, 1999: 7.

⁶ Judy Oberlander, and so on. "Restoration Principles and Procedures", *Technical Paper Series 10*, British Columbia Heritage Trust, 1989.

Although there were some unresolved problems; overall, I still consider this restoration a success in terms of making progress. However, the conflicts and issues raised by this project should be addressed and resolved.

4.2 Was it a successful restoration?

The establishment of general principles for the conservation of historic structures and sites is a primarily 20th century phenomenon, but the principles derive largely from conflicting European restoration theories of the 19th century.⁷ The architect Chao Kung-tu did not know foreign beliefs on preservation; nevertheless, his theory of the principles of restoration was based on his own experiences and that of other Chinese architects.⁸ The first principle Chao Kung-tu mentioned was “to retain to the original”. Two issues were particularly important: whether *Zongrenfu* should be rebuilt, and the authenticity of the Da Tianhou Gong and its structure.

⁷ Tschudi-Madsen, Steven. *Restoration and Anti-Restoration: A Study in English Restoration Philosophy*. Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1976. The argument initiated by Eugene Emmanuel Viollet-le-Duc, who held “restoration as a necessary reestablishment in a finished state which may in fact never have actually existed at any given time”, and John Ruskin and William Morris who held restoration resulted in falsification as “the worst of all destruction”.

Stylistic restoration

Chao planned to restore the entire compound to the original seventeenth century palace, and proposed to reconstruct *Zongrenfu* (Fig. 4.1). The temple restoration committee rejected this proposal due to the budget and the difficulty of relocating the adjoining residences. I am concerned with two aspects about this issue: one is the idea of stylistic restoration, and the other is Chao's research on *Zongrenfu*. Chao argued that the rebuild of *Zongrenfu* was based on the integrity⁹ of the historic building. In fact, the Da Tianhou Gong can no longer function as a palace because it serves as a temple dedicated to Mazu, the most popular goddess in Taiwan. With this new function, restoration to the original temple was necessary. This "emphasis on the need to preserve the genuine and original" seemed to be an insufficient reason given the new use of the Da Tianhou Gong.¹⁰ Moreover, if he rehabilitated the palace compound, all the halls would have had to be enclosed with doors and windows, and have no altars. As a temple, altars are needed for the present function.

⁸ Chao Kung-lu, 1992: 463.

⁹ Jokilehto, Jukka. *A History of Architectural Conservation*. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1999: 298. "Integrity" refers to undivided or unbroken state, material wholeness, completeness, or entirety.

¹⁰ In the early theories of restoration, "unity of style" was the dominance. Article 11 of Venice Charter states "The valid contribution of all periods to the building of a monument must be respected, since the unity of style is not the aim of a restoration."

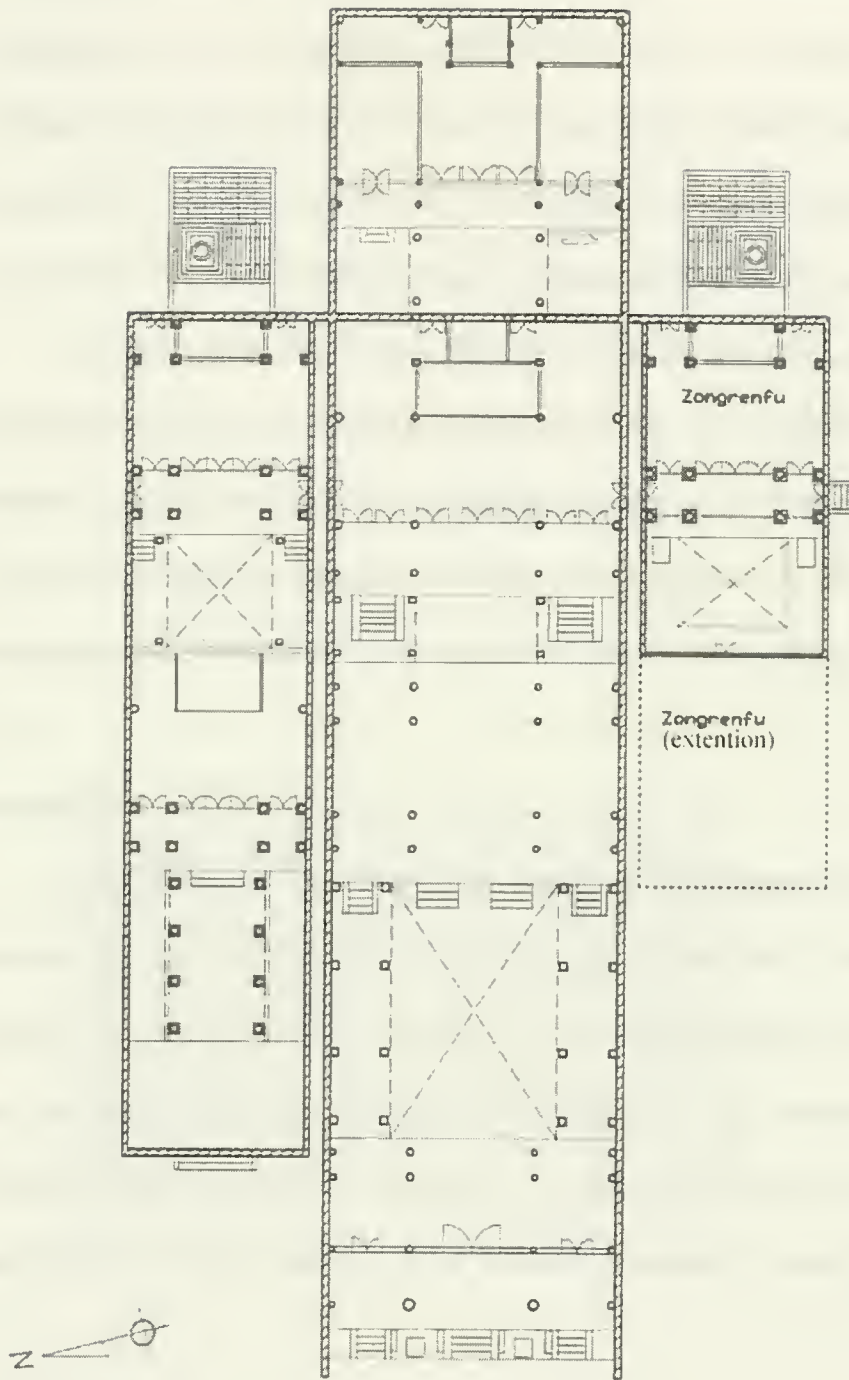


Fig. 4.1 Floor plan of the restoration of the Da Tianhou Gong, including *Zongrenfu*, designed by Chao Kung-tu (by the author after modifying the construction drawing)

With didactic and tourist functions in mind, his alternative plan was to rebuild the seventeenth century structure *Zongrenfu*, but used as a museum. Turning historic buildings into museums has been one of the successful adaptive uses in the practice of preservation.¹¹ However, for the Da Tianhou Gong, it would be unnecessary, and perhaps less cost efficient to rebuild the structure in order to make it into a museum.

Not only were his reasons for rebuilding unconvincing, but his research on *Zongrenfu* was also questionable. According to the local gazetteers, *Zongrenfu* was probably a one-hall structure, not a three-hall complex as he proposed.¹² It is a good idea to promote historic preservation through the attraction of pilgrimages, but it is inappropriate to execute a design that is not in accord with the original structure.

Authenticity

Authenticity is a basic concept in modern conservation, but its conventional reference has mainly been the genuine material documenting the different historical phases of a particular structure or place.¹³ The trend in present conservation practice is that contributions from all periods must be respected. The authenticity¹⁴ of a historic building requires careful documentation, research and physical analysis. Any later addition that can be considered as an “historic document”, rather than just a previous

¹¹ Jukka Jokilehto. *A History of Architectural Conservation*. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1999: 308-9.

¹² Chao Kung-tu planned to build a three-hall complex symmetric to the northern one.

¹³ Jukka Jokilehto. *A History of Architectural Conservation*. Oxford: Butterworth Heinemann, 1999: 304.

¹⁴ Nobuo Ito. “Authenticity Inherent in Cultural Heritage in Asia and Japan”, *Nara Conference on Authenticity*. ICOMOS, 1994: 11. “Authenticity” can be understood as authority, reliability and genuineness.

restoration, must be preserved.¹⁵ Chao Kung-tu basically acknowledged the interventions in different periods. For instance, the later additions with good quality including stone carvings, stone dragon columns, wooden carvings and wall paintings were restored. However, he planned to remove those unnecessary additions, such as the structurally dangerous pseudo-*sanchuanji* roof of the front hall.¹⁶

Firstly built in the Ming dynasty, the Forbidden City at Beijing was applied by Chao Kung-tu as a template, including floor pavements, balustrades (Fig. 4.2) and so on. As described in the second chapter, the Da Tianhou Gong was not only built in a rush but also originally built for the Ming Prince, not for the emperors. Without archaeological evidences, some details such as the balustrades and door panels of the Mazu and Guanyin altars were replicated from those of the Forbidden City.



Fig. 4.2 White-stone balustrade made in Fujian, China (photographed by the author)

¹⁵ Feilden, Bernard M. *Conservation of Historic Buildings*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1995: 9. When a building includes superimposed work of different periods, revealing the underlying strata can only be justified in exceptional circumstances. That is, when the part to be removed is widely agreed to be of little interest or when it is certain that the material brought to light will be of great historical or archaeological value; and when it is probable also that the state of preservation of the building is good enough to justify the action.

¹⁶ One of the principles of restoration in the Secretary of Interior's Standards for Restoration: Remove features from other periods, but document them first.

Conservation

Although Chao Kung-tu was not familiar with modern conservation theories, in this project he did practice conservation. Like many principles in various charters, Chao emphasized repair rather than replacement. At the same time, he advocated that the new materials involved in restoration should be identical to the original. The international conservation principles intend to address the harmony with the whole, but at the same time the replacement must be distinguishable from the original so that restoration does not falsify the artistic or historic evidence.¹⁷

Since timber deterioration is unavoidable, wood conservation is always a big task for wooden buildings. A thorough and accurate diagnosis of the condition and the causes of decay and degradation of the timber structure should precede any intervention.¹⁸ As mentioned earlier, Chao Kung-tu applied measurements of physical conditions and non-destructive testing methods. In his construction manual, Chao included the traditional techniques of wood repairs.¹⁹ However, those methods were not applied because the traditional skill of carpentry was less practiced. The wooden components were partially repaired by filling in the missing part, and matched with colors (Fig. 4.3). Only when the deterioration was severe, was the timber replaced. Chao was very concerned with the

¹⁷ Article 12 of Venice Charter. ICOMOS Charters and Other International Doctrinal Documents. *US/ ICOMOS Scientific Journal* Vol. 1 no. 1, 1999: 8.

¹⁸ ICOMOS International Wood Committee. "Principles for the Preservation of Historic Timber Structures," in *ICOMOS Charters and Other International Doctrinal Documents*. ICOMOS, 1999: 105-106.

¹⁹ In the construction manual written by Chao Kung-tu.

replacement. As the previous chapter discussed, the availability of the same quality timbers was a big issue.²⁰



Fig. 4.3 A craftsman was filling the missing part of a wooden component (photographed by the author)

Reduplication, the making of an exact copy, or copies, of a building or artefact,²¹ is the common solution for wall paintings in Chinese architectural history. In the modern conservation practice, reduplication is sometimes unavoidable. The object of restoration is to revive the original appearance or legibility of the object. The cleaning of buildings is also a form of restoration, and the replacement of missing decorative elements is another.²² In this project, some experienced wall painters such as Ting Ching-shih were responsible for the larger frescoes. Ting even repainted some of his own works. The

²⁰ Weaver, Martin E and Frank G. Matero. *Conserving Buildings: Guide to Techniques and Materials*. New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1997: 40. "to replace in kind" means that new and old wood should be accurately matched according to all the following criteria: species, quality (first growth or second growth), cut, color, grain direction and figure or pattern, tool marks, and finish.

²¹ Simpson, James. "Glorious Repair, or the 'British Way of Making Good'", Marks, Stephen (ed.). *Concerning Buildings*. Oxford: Architectural Press, 1996, 203.

painting conservator, Chen Pei-yu, joined the project in the final stage. Neither was she involved in the planning nor did she do the documentation of wall paintings. In addition, because of time limitation, her team could only finish a few of the paintings.

According to the Cultural Assets Preservation Bylaw, the architect is responsible for the documentation of the restoration project as a reference for future restoration and other projects. Chao Kung-tu and his team completed a report documenting the entire process. The construction company not only didn't record any of the process, but also destroyed all the construction drawings the next day after completion. They were probably trying to avoid any disagreement and responsibility in the future. In my opinion, it is a pity because those detailed documents should be shared with other restoration projects. As I discussed earlier, traditional Chinese architectural techniques are facing the problem of discontinuity; therefore, the experience of craftsmen, especially the difficulties they had, should be documented, and be applied to future projects.

Reversibility, or retreatability,²³ a concept of considerable significance for architecture and outdoor monuments given their need for longevity, has been considered the most important principle of conservation.²⁴ However, this concept was never mentioned throughout the project. In fact, reversibility has not been a concern in any of the restoration projects in Taiwan. Without detailed documentation and consideration of

²² Feilden, Bernard M. *Conservation of Historic Buildings*. Oxford: Butterworth-Heinemann, 1995: 9.

²³ Simpson, James. "Glorious Repair, or the 'British Way of Making Good'", Marks, Stephen (ed.). *Concerning Buildings*. Oxford: Architectural Press, 1996, 203. Reversibility is the concept of carrying out work to a building, part of a building or artefact in such way that it can be reversed at some future time, without any significant damage having been done to the existing fabric.

²⁴ Frank G. Matero. "The Conservation of Immovable Cultural Property: Ethical and Practical Dilemmas", *Journal of American Institute for Conservation*. 32 (1993): 17.

reversibility, all the treatments cannot be redone nor repeated even though there may have been a mistake made during the previous restoration.

4.3 Conclusion

Although there were many things to improve, there was some remarkable progress made in the restoration of the Da Tianhou Gong, including the application of traditional skills and modern technology on documentation and conservation. This project also reflected the imperfection of historic preservation in general as well as some special conflicts in Taiwan. The basic principles outlined in the various charters and codes for the restoration of all cultural property are not the sole responsibility of any one professional group. This is evidenced in the restoration of the Da Tianhou Gong. To achieve a successful restoration, training and education in conservation ethics and practice must be encouraged and professional roles supported. As the Venice Charter states, "The common responsibility to safeguard them for the future generations is recognized. It is our duty to hand them on in the full richness of their authenticity".²⁵

The restoration of the Da Tianhou Gong is an example of the development of historic preservation in Taiwan. Although I feel that this project yielded comparatively better results than many previous projects, there is still room for improvement. First of

all, good communication between all the people involved is a necessity. Not only the project leader-usually the architect-should make effort, the government agents should also play a more important role. In addition to controlling the deadline, those agents should often negotiate to ensure better cooperation between the architect and the construction company. Historic preservation cannot achieve success without politics; however, the government should consider issues of quality rather than simply focus on political strategies.

During the restoration, some procedures should be addressed. I recommend a thorough documentation, including historical records, current conditions, and restoration processes. As the restoration project begins, the professionals including the conservators should be involved as early as possible. The availability of professionals in Taiwan is a big issue. Proper and systematic training of conservators and traditional architectural technicians should be the next step in the preservation process.

All kinds of educational activities for historic preservation should be constantly undertaken. Over the years, many Taiwanese have accepted the concept of historic preservation. However, only raising awareness to a certain degree is not enough. The more education to the public, the better the quality of preservation will be assured.

²⁵ Introduction of Venice Charter. ICOMOS Charters and Other International Doctrinal Documents. *US/ICOMOS Scientific Journal* Vol. 1 no. 1, 1999: 7.

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Appendix 1: Highlights of Laws and Regulations of historic preservation in Taiwan

1. Regulations of Famous Sites, Historic Relics, and Historic Objects

- Announced by the Ministry of the Interior in 1928.
- Including scenic sites, historic buildings and structures, and historic remains such as tombs, fortresses, caves and wells.

2. Temporary Outlines of Ranges and Types of Historic Objects

- Announced by the Committee of Management of Historic Objects in 1935.
- Historic objects include archaeological remains and historic buildings.

3. International Monuments and Historic Relics Committee Charter

- Authorized by scholars and experts in the second meeting of International historical monuments in 1964

4. The Ministry of the Interior started a comprehensive investigation of historic relics from 1972-1975. The city and county governments totally nominated 541 sites.

- After being examined by the Committee organized by the Ministry of the Interior, there were 344 sites designated in 1979. In addition, they were divided into three classes: national, provincial and municipal historic relics.

5. The Cultural Assets Preservation Law was proclaimed in 1982, and the Cultural Assets Preservation Bylaw was passed in 1984.

- The local (township) governments nominate cultural assets, and have them examined primarily by the City or County Government. The register has to be reevaluated by the Ministry of the Interior. The final register includes three classes: national, provincial and municipal heritages. Except those private properties, these cultural assets are maintained by the government depending on its class. The responsible agents or owners have to report before any intervention is undertaken. The government has the priority to purchase the private properties on the register.
- Any intervention has to report to the responsible government agent. The principles of restoration are a. restoring the original color and style; b. use the original or similar materials; c. apply the traditional techniques and methods; d.

no rebuilt unless it's necessary. The above tasks have to be executed by professionals, and to be documented.

6. *Revised the Cultural Assets Preservation Law and the Cultural Assets Preservation Bylaw* in 1997 and 2000.

- The Central and City/ County Government are responsible for the designated cultural assets. The agent of the Central Government for historic relics, folklore and historic objects is the Ministry of the Interior; the agent of the Central Government for historic buildings is the Council for Cultural Affairs.
- The criteria for designation include, a. historic, cultural and aesthetic value; b. date; c. association with historic figures or events; d. characteristics of certain period, technique, style or region; e. quantity; f. condition; g. scale; h. environment; i. related affairs.
- Local governments are responsible for investigating and nominating cultural assets. The register is evaluated and designated by the Ministry of the Interior.
- Historic buildings belong to the private can still receive governmental grants for restoration. The government has the priority to purchase these private properties; however, the compensation has to be reasonable. Encourage preservation rather than punish.

Some related terms:

- Wenhua zichan 文化資產: cultural assets
- Guwu 古物: historic objects
- Guji 古蹟: historic relics including objects, buildings and sites
- Lishi jianzhu 歷史建築: historic buildings

Appendix 2. Construction Time Table

1. Summarized from Chao, Kung-du. *Diyiji guji Da Tianhou Gong zhi yanjiu*, 1992. Chao Kung-tu. *Diyiji guji Da Tianhou Gong zhi yanjiu*, 1998. And the official documents in the office of Bofeng Technique Consulting Inc.

2. Abbreviations:

MOI: Department of Civil Affairs, Ministry of Interior of Taiwan

BFTC: BoFeng Technique Consulting Inc.

DCA: Department of Civil Affairs, Tainan municipal government

QRC: QingRen Construction Co.

QYC: QingYang Construction Co.

CMTD: Committee of Management of Tainan Datianhougong

Time	Event	Participants	Notes
1986/8/5	Commence of the research	BFTC, MOI	
1989/2/4	Discussion of preservation area	BFTC, MOI	Including Tainan Datianhougong, Chikanlou, Wumiao
1991/7/19	1 st meeting for examining the research report & project	MOI (committee)	
1991/8/15	Damage by the unauthorized building next to the temple	DCA	The illegal building attached on the left wall of the main hall of the temple, resulting in its declining
1992/3/23	2 nd meeting for evaluating the research project	MOI (committee)	
1992/7/2	Examining of the revised report	MOI (committee)	
1993/5/6	Sign contract	BFTC, MOI	
1993/12/18	1 st meeting for submitting the design of 1 st phase restoration	MOI (committee), BFTC	Construction specification, budget and architectural drawings
1994/4/25	2 nd meeting	MOI (committee), BFTC	Construction specification, budget and architectural drawings (revised)
1994/7/20	3 rd meeting	MOI (committee), BFTC	Ibid
1994/10/15	4 th meeting	MOI (committee), BFTC	Ibid
1995/2	Approved by MOI	MOI (committee)	Total budget: 77,917,100 NTD
1995/4/26	Call for vender in public	MOI (committee), BFTC	Bidder: QRC
1995/6/12	Construction begins	MOI, DCA, BFTC, QRC	Estimated 380 working days
1995/7/24	Construction scaffolding and its calculation of structure report	QRC, QYC	
1995/8/9	Architect questions the design of construction scaffolding	QRC, QYC, BFTC	
1995/8	Submit the list of group leaders and workers on site	QRC	

1995/9/20	Revised plan for construction scaffolding and its calculation of structure	QRC, QYC	
1995/10/11	Architect questions the design of construction scaffolding	BFTC, QRC, DCA	
1995/10/13	Revised plan for scaffolding and its calculation of structure	QRC, QYC, BFTC	
1995/10/18	DCA questions structure of the scaffolding by QYC on 10/13-14	BFTC, QRC, QYC, DCA	
1995/10/19	C.E.O. of QRC, chief architect Chao and construction engineer investigate and negotiate on the site	BFTC, QRC, DCA	
1995/10/23	DCA questions the safety of construction scaffolding	BFTC, QRC, DCA	
1995/10/26	Chief architect Chao sent an official document warning QYC on scaffolding	BFTC, QRC, QYC, DCA	
1995/10/30	Revised scaffolding and its calculation of structure	QRC, QYC	
1995/11/8	Construction meeting	BFTC, QRC, QYC, DCA	
1995/11/15	Chief architect Chao sent an official document warning QYC on scaffolding	BFTC, QRC, QYC, DCA	
1995/12/8	QRC asks to continue the scaffolding and promised to take responsibilities	BFTC, QRC, QYC, DCA	
1995/12/16	Architect asks QYC to improve scaffolding structure and provided illustrated details	BFTC, QRC, QYC	
1996/1/5	Architect agreed to continue the construction of scaffolding	BFTC, QRC, QYC, DCA	
1996/2/2	Sightseeing tour of the temple	DCA, BFTC	Lecture delivered by Chao Kung-du
1996/2/8	Employed licensed architect Chiang Chiu-szu as consultant	BFTC	
1996/3/25	Change the construction superintendent	BFTC, QRC, QYC, DCA	
1996/5/8	Change the construction superintendent	BFTC, QRC, QYC, DCA	
1996/5/8	Construction meeting	BFTC, QRC, QYC, DCA	
1996/6/13	Left for examining the hemlock from Hualian county	BFTC, QRC, QYC, DCA	
1996/6/17	Architect questions the quality of the hemlock ordered by QYC	BFTC, QRC, QYC, DCA	
1996/6/19	Meeting for the materials	BFTC, QRC, QYC, DCA, MOI	
1996/6/28	Architect questions the wood materials and suggested to use local Chinese cypress instead	BFTC	

1996/6/28	Construction objects	QYC	
1996/7/12	Meeting for the wooden materials and the working schedule	BFTC, QRC, QYC, DCA	
1996/7/12	Construction meeting: temple committee disagrees some design of the project, for instance, the stairs of main hall	BFTC, QRC, QYC, DCA	DCA negotiates, and architect finally agrees to accept the adjustment of the construction Co.
1996/7/22	DCA warns for the delay	DCA, BFTC	
1996/7/29	Architect changes the site superintendent	BFTC	
1996/8/2	DCA warns again for the delay	DCA, BFTC	
1996/8/26	Change of order	BFTC, MOI	
1996/9/3	Construction Co. questions the work schedule of change of order made by the architect	QRC, QYC, BFTC	Construction Co. asks to postpone the construction till change of order is approved
1996/9/9	Negotiation for construction	DCA, BFTC, QRC	
1996/10/1	Excavating original floor pavement	BFTC, QRC, QYC	
1996/11/9	Site inspection	BFTC	
1996/11/14	Request to import granites from China	BFTC, MOI	
1996/11/23	Submitting budget and construction drawings for change of order	BFTC, MOI	Including construction budget, unit price and quantities of materials
1996/12/16	Permits importing granite from China	MOI	
1996/12/30	Meeting for examining the design in change of order	MOI, DCA, BFTC, QRC	
1997/1/20	Training volunteers of cultural properties	Council of cultural affairs	Visits the temple
1997/1/23	Revises the proposal for change of order	BFTC	
1997/1/24	Evaluates structural safety by structural engineer Lee Chuyao	BFTC	Architect questions the safety of four sided pavilion and corridors of Guanyin hall
1997/2	MOI and DCA asks to follow the conclusion from the meeting on 1996/12/30	MOI, DCA, BFTC, QRC, QYC	Maintains the present condition
1997/5/28	Negotiates the budget for change of order	BFTC, MOI	
1997/9/20	Requests for adding 200 working days	BFTC, MOI	
1997/10/9	Revises the construction schedule	BFTC	
1997/10/28	Examines the samples of terra-cotta eave tiles	BFTC, QRC, QYC	
1997/12/4	Drafts of wall paintings of Guanyin hall	QYC	
1998/2	Changes the leader for the roof construction	QYC	

1998/6/1	Final check of completed construction items	MOI, BFTC, DCA	
1998/7/13	Emergent construction begins	BFTC, MOI, DCA, QRC, QYC	The front hall of the right wing collapses due to the heavy storm on 1997/4/10 Total budget: 7,900,000 NTD
1998/7/30	MOI inspects the construction	MOI	
1998/8/13	First phase restoration completes	PTFC, QRC, QYC, DCA, MOI	
1999/1/20	Emergent construction completes	BFTC, MOI, DCA, QRC, QYC	

Appendix 3: Index of Chinese characters

Anping	安平	Ningjing	寧靖
Bai dian	拜殿	Penghu	澎湖
Banqiao	板橋	Putian	莆田
Bao`an	保安	Qingren	慶仁
Bofeng	博風	Qingyang	慶陽
cheng	埕	Sanchuan dian	三川殿
Chikan lou	赤崁樓	sanchuanji	三川脊
Da Tianhou Gong	大天后宮	Sanbao dian	三寶殿
Dihua	迪化	sanjiao	三郊
Erjie	二結	Shi Lang	施琅
Erkan	二崁	Shunji	順濟
fenxiang	分香	sichui	四垂
gengyiting	更衣亭	Sichuiting	四垂亭
Guandi	關帝	Tainan	臺南
Guanyin	觀音	Tianfei	天妃
Jiang Yunshu	蔣元樞	Tianhou	天后
Jianjunfu	監軍府	Yaoshan	樂山
jinxiang	進香	Yilan	宜蘭
Lin An-tai	林安泰	Yiyuanzi yuan	一元子園
Lu`ermen	鹿耳門	Yizai jincheng	億載金城
Mazu	媽祖	Zhaocheng	昭乘
Meizhou	湄州	Zheng Chenggong	鄭成功
Ninghai	寧海	Zongrenfu	宗人府

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